

FROM

# SCANDINAVIA,

ON THE

PAST AND PRESENT STATE

OF THE

### NORTHERN NATIONS

OF

EUROPE.

VOL. II.

#### LONDON:

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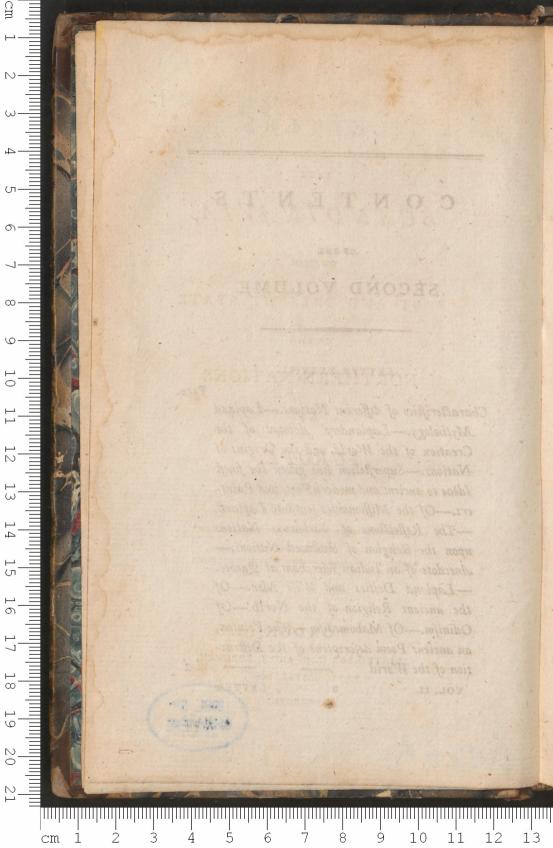
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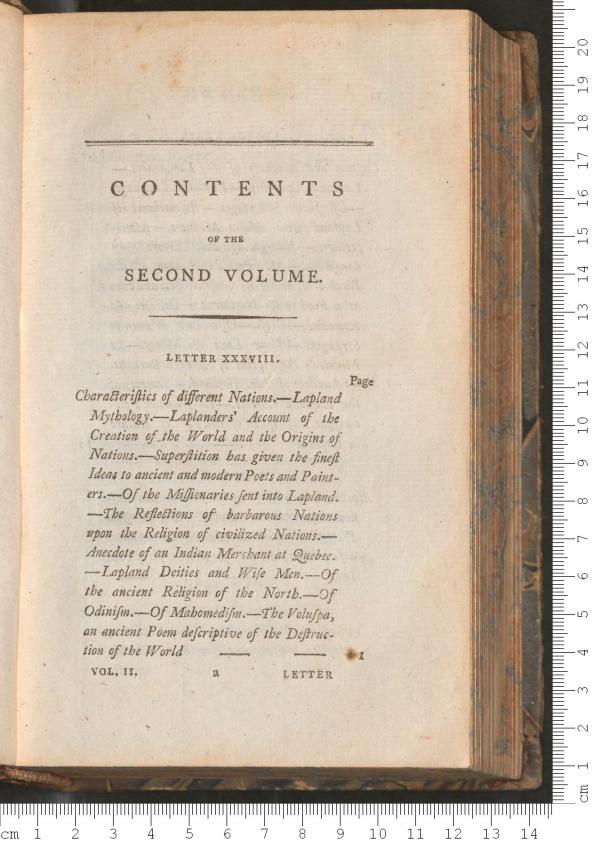
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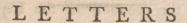
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FROM

### SCANDINAVIA.

### LETTER XXXVIII.

Characterifics of different Nations.—Lapland Mythology.—Laplanders' Account of the Creation of the World and the Origins of Nations.
—Superfition has given the finest Ideas to ancient and modern Poets and Painters.—Of the Missionaries sent into Lapland.—The Restections of barbarous Nations upon the Religion of civilized Nations.—Anecdote of an Indian Merchant at Quebec.—Lapland Deities and Wise Men:—Of the ancient Religion of the North.—Of Odinism.—Of Mahomedism—The Voluspa, an ancient Poem descriptive of the Destruction of the World.

VOL. II.

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Ingria, June 1791.

IN my last letters to you, I took a short review of the economy of the Laplanders, and gave you a list of the natural curiosities under the pole.

The Laplander, clothed in his bear-skin, and treading among his snows, is perhaps one of the happiest beings in this world. The natives of every country have their partialities to the fpot which gave them birth, and to their own particular excellencies. The Scotch and English are for ever proclaiming the fuperiority of their countries and the achievements of their inhabitants, and boafting of the greater number of murders committed, the one upon the other, under the banners of their feveral tyrants. The Spaniards, as the conquerors of the Saracens and of the new world: the French, the Portuguefe, the German, the Dane, the Swede, the Russian, have each their boast of excellence in some respect or other. Not one nation boafts of fuperior moral virtues: at least, they will give up this point, if they or their ancestors are allowed

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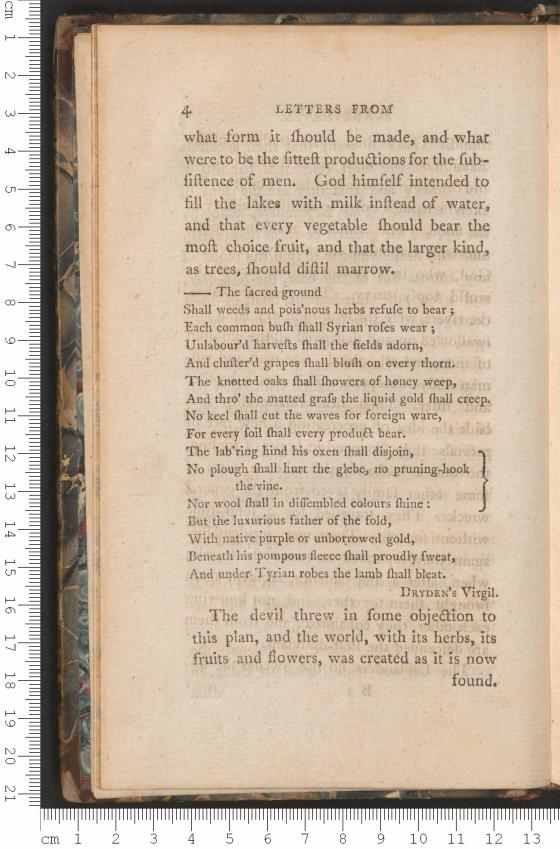
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the first rank in war; that their ancestors have been the most celebrated banditti of old times; and that they are the fons of their fathers. The Laplanders, who, by the by, are the greatest cowards upon earth, and who never venture to spill the blood of any animal but of the bear, the rein-deer, and a few other quadrupeds, boast of their courage and exemplary heroism in former ages. They are now only possessed of virtue; but the Laplander, as if to prove his origin from the same source with other nations, is more tenacious of his former than of his present character. The virtues he possesses are local: they feem to have existed at the pole before his arrival; he did not bring them with him. The virtues of all men are rather local than mental. There are few inflexible to evil example, and obstinately just.

Let me trace the Laplander in his simple walk through life. Of his origin I will permit him to speak for himself.

God, fay they, before he created the world, confulted with Perkel or Satan, in

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found. This is the Lapland tradition of the creation of the world, and of the fall of man, and the fubfequent calamities. Tradition has likewife handed down to them the history of the flood. The crimes of mankind, continues the Laponian chronology, provoked God, who in a violent passion turned the world topfy turvy. The feas, the lakes, the rivers, were thrown upon dry land, and swallowed up and destroyed all the children of men, and all animals, one man and woman only excepted. This was a brother and fifter. Their near relationship forbade the idea of procreating a new race of mortals: they separated in hopes of finding, the one a husband, the other a wife, of fome other family faved from the general wreck. They travelled for a long time without fuccess. They met accidentally: again they separated to renew the search; when, after a long absence, accident again brought them together, and, not knowing each other, they cohabited : and from them are descended the Post-diluvians.

The Laplanders do the Swedes the honour . B 3

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nour to acknowledge them for their coufins. These two nations are descended from two brothers, but they were of very different dispositions. Journeying one day during a dreadful storm, the brother from whom the Swedes are descended took shelter under a tree. God, pitying his fituation, changed the tree into a house. From this cowardly fellow are descended all nations but the Laplanders. The father of the Laplanders, more courageous and hardy, continued his journey towards Lapland, He braved the wintry blafts, and climbed undaunted the fnowy mountains, pushing his way through the tempests of hail, until he arrived in that country whose inhabitants owe to him their existence and their courage. The Laplanders are undoubtedly of the same origin with the Finlanders: both of them had been driven out from the more fouthern provinces of the North, by the ancestors of the present Russians, Swedes and Danes. A few excepted, the Laplanders are idolaters; and even those who have been prevailed upon to profess Christianity have not

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which all ancient and modern idolaters have clothed their deities. The Grecian and Roman poets have decorated their gods and goddeffes in clouds, without telling us fimply, that the people worshipped the vapours arifing from the marshes and lakes. I hazard this observation, for I do not recollect at this moment, whether the ancient Grecians did fo or not. The earliest and the latest painters adopted the poetical hint: and we find every fupernatural figure dreffed in fymbols of Grecian and Lapland mythology. The fovereigns of Lapland are at a confiderable expence in fending miffionaries among the natives, to instruct them in the tenets of the Christian religion; yet, after a long period has expired, the Laplanders remain nearly in their original state. I apprehend that these missionaries, or the colonists who fettled in Lapland, give better precept than example. The choice of missionaries and of colonists should be made with care: fuccess in the reformation of the manners of the Laplanders depends more upon example than precept. Priests are not

not always the best acquainted with mankind, and are not the most proper to be employed in the works of reforming and polishing ignorant nations. It is not enough merely to teach the Laplander the doctrines of Christianity: he should be taught, too, the value of industry and cleanliness. Missionaries frequently content themselves with teaching their disciples to count their beads. a fort of indolent adoration befitting the votaries of the god of fleep. The monafteries and other religious feminaries over all the world are the nurseries of sloth. Were these religious fed with manna from heaven, they would be a less burthen, and might be equally useful to society. The Almighty does not feem to have intended that any of his creatures should exist here upon prayers. This earth is certainly the nurfery of mankind; and, whatever may be our occupations when transplanted to other earths, here industry is as requisite as religion. The human mind, as now conflructed, feels difgust with continued religious or any other duties; it is an ocean which

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which stagnates with a calm, and must be tossed about with winds and with tempests.

The following anecdotes will illustrate the propriety of giving barbarous nations the examples as well as the precepts of religion, morality, and industry. A chie fof one of the North American tribes was folicited to admit a French missionary to convert more of his subjects. "No," said the chief: "there are too many converted alreating to pay me their taxes."

A British American priest attempting to convert an Indian, the inhabitant of the forest turned short upon him, and replied sharply: "When I find that the English are "good by means of the religion they pro-"fess, I will then adopt the same. When I "go to Quebec to sell my furs," continued the Indian, "the towns-people do not ask "me to their houses, and entertain me as "we do them. When they visit our coun-"try, we kindle a fire to warm the stran-"ger, we spread a matt upon which viands

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monitor in a coat of a black colour. wifeacre is confidered as the principal piece of furniture in every Lapland mansion; a personage of great skill in all difficult cases. The media which the fons of men have chosen in all ages, as solicitors and attorneys between them and their God, must rather entertain than provoke the supreme deity. The ancient poets have gloffed over the idols and idolatrous ceremonies of their ages: the enchantment of verse has reconciled us to Jupiter and Vulcan, to Juno and Venus; while the deities of the Tartars, and other rites, when spoken of in simple prose, give frequently difgust. Those deities were nearly all the same, but with other names; they had the same origin in the vagaries of human imagination.

The Laplanders and Siberians have their wife men too; but they are not limited to feven, and may be found and confulted with in every village: the fee of confultation is a glass of brandy. These philosophical prophets, having prepared a drum, with various mystical figures painted upon

it.

that magnanimity which fometimes distinguished the nobler despots.

The religion of the ancient Scandinavians, before the arrival of Odin from Scythia, would appear to have been very fimple: they worshipped the sun, in which they supposed the chief deity to exist. Under this supreme god were various others, who presided over the seas, the lakes, the mountains, and forests; to all of whom they offered facrifice of brute-animals and fruits, upon rustic altars, consisting of one or more large stones gathered together, and set upright upon their ends. At Odin's arrival, this simplicity of worship was changed; not for a more refined, but a less innocent mode of worship.

Odin affumed the deity; and after his death, the Goths could not offer to warrior gods fruits and flowers: nay, the blood of beafts was deemed too mean an offering, and human victims were dragged to the altars.

Frigga, the wife of Odin, was the goddess of pleasures, the mother of fruitfulness, at the same time the Juno, the Venus, and

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the Ceres of the North. The fons and daughters of Odin were the inferior deities. Thor was the god of thunder and of battle. and next to him Tyr, another warrior god. From these divinities, we have the names of the days of the week: Odin, who is sometimes called Woden, was worshipped upon Wodensday or Wednesday, Thursday was facred to Thor, Tyfday or Tuefday to Tyr, and Friday to Frigga. The Norwegian, Swedish, German, and Danish names for the days of the week come still nearer to the names of these great personages. The conquests of the Goths in Italy soon introduced into Scandinavia another change of religion; but there continued for a long time fuch a mixture of Paganism with Christianity, that it is difficult to fix the period of the conversion of the Gothic nations. Though Rome failed in conquering the Goths, the fucceeded in the beginning and in the end in conquering their deities. She chased Odin out of Scythia, and again out of Scandinavia, by giving the inhabitants of the latter her religion.

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Rome after her fall, still thirsting for empire of any fort, hung herself round with beads and crosses. She had perceived the great influence which the Gothic priests had obtained over the people. She resolved to outdo their barbarous rites; and attracted attention, by decorating, with the most glaring and costly ornaments, the Christian faith, which at this period, like the morning, began to dawn from the east.

The mortal inventors of religion addressed themselves to the sensual passions of men. Christianity, not offering the same kind of rewards, had a long struggle with Odinism and Mahomedism. Odin constructed his heaven for rough barbarous warriors: Mahomed for the brave, but more luxurious Afiatics. Such heavens fuited the respective followers of the impostors. The elysium and the hell of Odin were placed in this world. These are to be destroyed, and all the inferior deities, nay, even Odin himself, who, by the by, only assumed the famerank with Mahomed, the chief prophet of the supreme God. Odin and his VOL. II. fons

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fons are to rife with a new world, and with them all good men, whether warrior or peafant, and this is their everlasting abode. The distinguishing reward of brave men, was, to pass their time agreeably to their inclinations in elysium, until the creation of the new world: the lower orders of the people were to be less agreeably situated, I do not remember where, during the interval between their death and their resurrection.

I will conclude these anecdotes of the religion of the northern natives with an extract from an ancient poem, entitled The Voluspa, giving a description of the conflagration of the world, and its renewal from its ashes.

## VOLUSPA. Whom I tong a

The giant Rymer arrives from the east, carried in a chariot—the ocean swells—the great serpent rolls himself furiously in the waters, and lifteth up the sea—The eagle screams, and tears the dead bodies with his horrid beak—The vessel of the gods is set assort the vessel comes from the east. The host of the evil genii arrives by sea—Lake [Satan] is their

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their pilot and director—Their furious squauron advances—The black prince of the genii of fire issues from the south, surrounded with slames—the swords of the gods beam forth rays like the sun—the rocks are shaken, and fall to pieces—the semale giants wander about weeping—men tread in crowds the paths of death—the heaven is split asunder.

New grief for the goddess who defends Odin! For Odin advances to encounter Fenris; the show-white slayer of Bela, against the black prince of the genii of sire. Soon is the spouse of Frigga beaten down. Then runs Vidar, the illustrious son of Odin, to avenge his father. He attacks the murderous monsier, that monster born of a giant! and with his sword he pierces him to the heart.

The fun is darkened—the fea overwhelms the earth—the shining stars vanish out of heaven—the fire furiously rages—the ages draw to an end—the slame ascending licks the vault of heaven. Then we see emerge from the bosom of the waves an earth clothed with a most lovely verdure—the sloods retire

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## LETTER XXXIX.

Customs and Manners of the Laplanders.—
Lapland Courtship.—Lapland Language.—
Of their Marriages.—Resemblance of Lapland with Asiatic Manners.—Manufactures.—Navigating the Rivers very dangerous.—M. Pallas's Account of the Birchtree, and of its various Uses, and even as a Food to the Northerns.—Diseases and Remedies—Dress.—Offer their Women to Strangers.—Their Love of Money.—Le Monnier's Description of Aurora Borealis.—Anecdote of Mr. Howard.—Severity of the Lapland Climate.—Le Monnier's picturesque Description of the Face of Nature in Lapland.

Ingria, June 1791.

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THE fea Laplanders and the mountain Laplanders differ confiderably from each other in customs and manners. The fea C 3 Lap-

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Laplander, or fisherman, is more stationary than the other, and, in some respects, more comfortably situated, though not so rich as the mountaineer, whose numerous herds of rein-deer afford him every necessary of life.

One rein-deer cow becomes the property of a child as foon as it is born. The calves of this cow are carefully preferved, and the young Laplander finds a valuable eftate belonging to him, when he arrives at the age of discretion, and when he is qualified to begin the trade of his fathers. But, among the Laplanders, as among other northern nations, a man is not looked upon to be properly eftablished in the world before he is married. A Lapland youth, whether inspired by love's fweet flame, or enamoured with jointureland, commences his fuit by prefenting the young lady with rich furs or fuch articles, and the parents with brandy. Upon this momentous occasion, and in his journey to the hut of his lass, which is sometimes at a great distance, the lover is accompanied with a friend. The dying swain allows this friend to

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go first into the cottage: he remains in the cold fields, and waits with equal patience and anxiety to hear of his fate. The falute upon entering their houses is by inclining the head, and by naming the inhabitants holy brothers, or holy fifters.

If the brandy is accepted by the parents, and the eloquent speech delivered by this love-token approved of, the young man, covered with a wolf-skin, is desired to approach. Encouraged by this dawn of hope, he strokes his forehead, and makes an oration upon the beauty and high accomplishments of his intended bride, as his procurator had immediately before upon the wealth and courage of the suitor. Should it happen that the young couple are neither of them rich, they remain for some time with the bride's parents, and until they have acquired, by their industrious exertions, a sufficient stock.

If, after matters have been agreed upon, the bride retract from her engagements, the parents are obliged to return every present made during the courtship, and to pay the

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expence which the bridegroom had been put to in brandy and other articles, in entertainments. Scheffer has given us some specimens of the Lapland love-fongs, which have established the character of the Lapland poetry; but their finging is not equal to their poetry: their voice is harsh and fqueaking. The Laponian language by the accounts of some writers is uncouth; others report it to be foft and expressive. M. Leem. compiled a dictionary of the Lapland language, and we owe to him the most credit for the latter character of it. It has feveral terms to express the different kinds of roads and mountains, and to diffinguish the age, the bulk, the fatness, the swiftness, or other property or excellence of the rein-deer. The moods of the verbs are more numerous than in any other language; and there are thirteen different cases of their nouns substantive.

But the Laponian is not the only language of barbarians which contains excellencies equal, if not superior, to those of more polished nations. The language of the sa-

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wage Hurons of North America is celebrated by travellers for its strength and pathos, and the Algonquin tongue for its foftness and elegance.

The original ceremonials of marriage in Lapland were very simple, and required only the confent of the parties, and a lucky day to cohabit together: those among them who have been converted to Christianity permit the Russian, Swedish, or Norwegian priest to unite their hands.

The newly married couple being arrived in their hut commence the business of life. The husband attends to his herds or to his fishing, as his situation may be upon the mountains or by the fea shore. The wife is employed within doors in manufacturing not only all articles of drefs, but in making furniture, as cradles, spoons, shovels, and dishes of various forts; the husband assists in these manufactures when at leisure. The Laplanders use no chairs: like their ancestors in Asia, they sit cross-legged upon mats or skins laid upon the floor, which serve, at the fame time, for the table-cloth at dinner

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and other meals. These likewise compose their beds. It is amufing to contemplate fimilarity of customs between two people now fo opposite in many respects: to viewthe luxurious Afiatic fitting in all the pomp of the East at a magnificent banquet, served up in dishes of gold and silver in his palace in the plains of Indostan, and to behold the rude Laplander feated upon his hams too in his hut under the pole, and devouring the carcafe of a bear or a wolf. The landlord and landlady occupy the place nearest the fire, the fons and daughters of the family the next adjoining apartment, and the fervants the outer chamber. The Lapland bedrooms may be eafily supposed to be none of the most superb; and it is only the houses of the wealthy that are divided into three apartments by means of boards, or coarfe cloths or skins. In more ordinary habitations, the whole inhabitants repose themselves around the fire-place with little distinction: but this custom is not attended with the confequences which delicacy may apprehend. It may feem strange that a people

ple so low in civilization and in rank in society should have servants among them; and that a nation so near upon an equality should have inferiors: but here, as in other countries, riches, of whatever species, constitute degrees of rank: a Laplander without a herd of rein-deer is a poor man, and becomes a servant of him who has numerous herds. Herds of rein-deer are in Lapland as landed estates are elsewhere: the persons who do not possess them, are in the situation of servants, merchants, and manufacturers, dependent, and searching every where, and into every branch, for employment.

The Laplanders are no less ingenious than the Norwegians and Finlanders in making various wooden utensils. The largest of this species of manufacture are their boats or canoes with which they navigate their rivers, rendered exceedingly dangerous by falls. These canoes are of two kinds; either constructed out of one entire piece of timber, or built with thin bark of trees sewed together, and the seam caulked with moss instead of oakum: were the canoes built of plank

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plank they would not answer, since it requires a vessel capable of yielding to the stony bottom, as well as to the violent and whirling current and whirlpools in the river. The first fort of canoes are used only upon the lakes. The canoes of bark are so small and light, as to be carried even by one person from river to river as occasion requires; and the Laplander, having borne his vessel across the land, is carried in his turn upon the waters by this fort of portable navy common to many Indian nations.

The trunk and bark of the birch tree are to the natives as useful in the vegetable, as their rein-deer in the animal world. The Tartars apply it to a still greater variety of purposes.

"The birch," fays M. Pallas, "is one of the most useful trees in the northern world.

"The wood not only ferves for fuel and

" various economical purposes, but from the crooked trees, and parts of trees, are made

" wheels and other articles that require very

" hard timber. The outer white bark, boiled,

" and fewed together, is used by some Tartars
" for

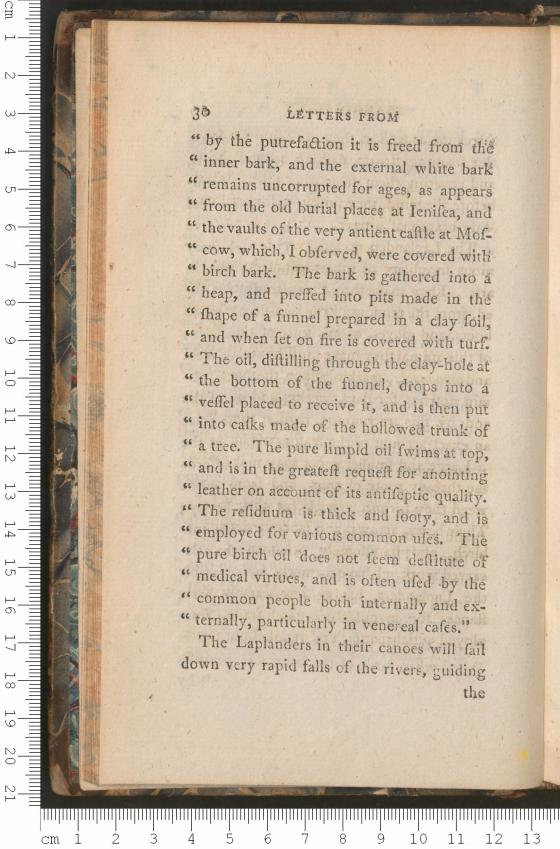
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the canoe as well as they can with the oars; the foaming stream dashing around them, and covering them from the fight. When before the wind, they substitute for a fail the leafy branch of a tree.

The Laplanders no lefs excel in the ingenious simplicity of other manufactures and arts. They make thread, as already observed, from the tendons of the rein-deer; shoes, boots, and gloves, of his skin: of the horns of this animal they make snuff-boxes, spoons, and almanacks, marking upon the horn certain notches for days, weeks, and months; and by this uncommon register they keep an exact account of the seasons of the year.

Large and smaller ropes they make from the thready roots of trees, and from a sea weed they furnish a wick for their lamps. Their bows, arrows, and lances are made of birch, and handsomely ornamented with carved work. I have formerly noticed, that the Laplanders, having few earthly substances for manufactures and trade, employed aërial matter, and retailed out thun-

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northern deferts are few, and the remedies for them simple. The doctors are their physicians both for the foul and body; they are their lawyers too: no wonder then, that, uniting in their persons the three most lucrative branches of trade-religion, law, and physic, they should be rich. An apothecary's shop in this country, exclusively of magical medicines, contains few articles befides herbs and whale oil. The difeafes prevalent are the fmall pox, and pains in the eyes from the continual reflection of the fnow. When a Laplander returns from hunting, he is unable to fee, or to lift his eye-lids, for fome hours or even days. For the fmall-pox they drink the blood of the rein-deer, and make outward application of boiled herbs. When any limb of the body is in pain, they hold the affected part to the fire until it bursts and bleeds.

The Lapland women, and indeed the women of Greenland and other countries beyond the arctic circle, are not troubled with fome complaints peculiar to the fex; vol. 11. D and.

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their ideas of good breeding, as well as of the affectation of it: and when a youthful Laplander dreffes in finer furs than his rank may entitle him to do, they fay that fuch a person gives himself the airs of a gelded rein-deer. These animals, being remarkable for their fatness, being fed for slaughter, and not worked, are always in high spirits and frisky.

A Laplander, having provided for his family, and fettled them in the world, is anxious to preserve what riches are left, in coin, which he hides in some secret place, or under ground, as a provision for himself in the next world. Yet he is not parfimonious, like the Tartars. The Laplanders contribute to affift a neighbour reduced to poverty; and, as among the Norwegian peafants, frequently prefent filver and gold in a plate to distinguished guests, desiring them to take what they choose. These are exactly Afiatic customs: neither justice nor injustice can be procured in Asia without money: the magistrate is bribed to do his duty. and the affaffin to execute his commission.

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It is the reward of every meritorious as well as the incitement to every base action. Visits and embassies are preceded by presents: these are the media not only of commerce, but of politics, and of every transaction—the price of vice and of virtue too. This picture of Asiatic manners under the pole, though coarse, is striking.—There are several mountains here containing veins of gold and silver, which are sometimes worked by the respective governments.

I have attempted, with the strictest regard to the best accounts and information, this sketch of the customs and manners of a race of men little known. There are sew nations so neglected by nature as not to have it in their power, by shaking off indolence and vicious habits, to be happier than they actually are; and sew from whom others may not draw instructive lessons, however stupid and ignorant they may appear at first sight.

Every traveller into Lapland describes with raptures the enchanting prospects prefented to the eye of the admirer of nature,

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in winter, as well as in fummer. During the former period, not only the moon, but the aurora borealis, throws a flame of light over the frozen lands and feas. The icy precipices sparkle in the moonbeams, and appear as if hung around with diamond lamps. The fnowy mountains rife one above the other, and are hardly to be diffinguished from the clouds of heaven, unless where the black forests dot their fides. The moon, the steady lamp of night, is dimly feen amidst the brighter display of the aurora borealis. Le Monnier, one of the companions of M. Maupertuis in their travels through Lapland, after relating a perilous journey across frozen mountains, thus continues: "If the earth in " this climate be thus horrible, the heavens " present to the eye a prospect most beauti-"ful. So foon as night approaches, fires of " a thousand different colours and figures " light up the firmament, as if intended by " nature to lengthen out the short winter "day, and to supply the absence of the " fun. These lights have not, as in more " foutherly D 3

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"tled into a dome, whose top stood towards
"the south-west of the zenith. The
"moon shone bright, but did not in the
self-efface it. In this country, where
there are lights of so many varying hues,
I never saw more than two that were
red, and such are taken for presages of
great calamities; and when we look upon
these phenomena with an unphilosophical
eye, no wonder that we discover siery
chariots, armies engaged, and other
dreadful appearances."

The Lapland winter, with all its rigours of cold, has its advantages and conveniencies, and is indeed a more defirable feafon than the fummer, in which the inhabitants, both men and cattle, are tormented with the gnats or mufquitoes. I have already noticed that the Laplander anoints his body with a preparation of oily fubstance and rein-deer milk, to prevent the attack of this infect. They cannot all of them afford this ointment; and the herdsmen, while attending the cattle, make a fire, and, sitting amidst the smoke, evade the foe. The cure, if we recollect the sultry heat of the summer, when this method

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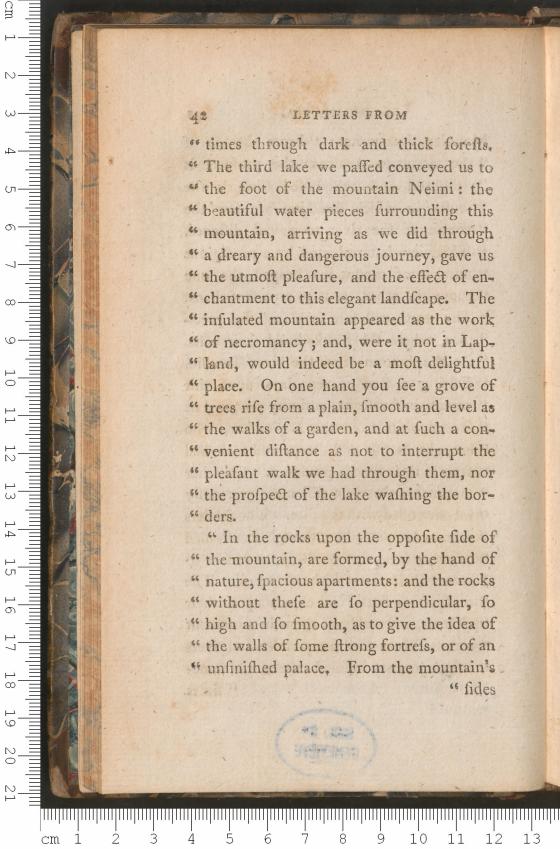
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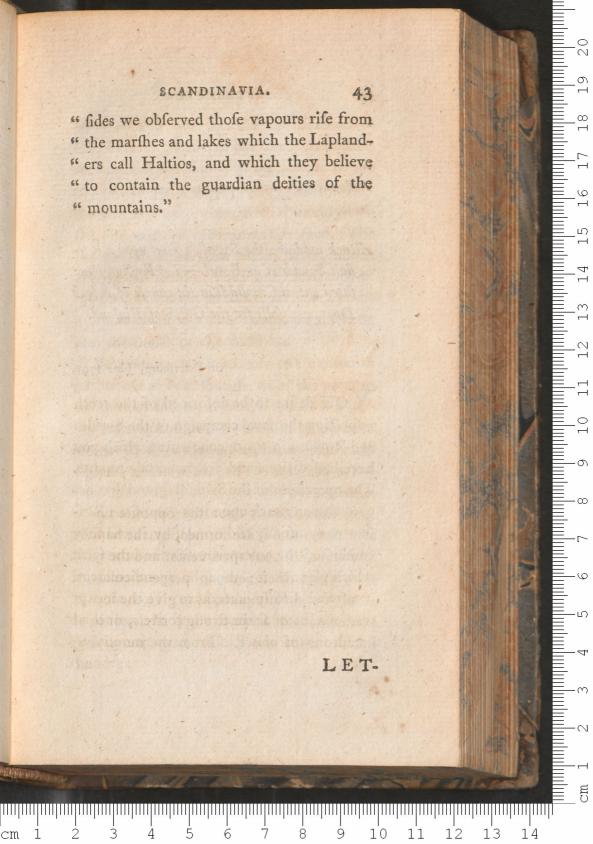
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aground and unrigged in the harbour of Cronstadt. The Russian sleet, consisting of only ten ships of the line, were in the utmost danger of being totally destroyed by the enemy's sleet, composed of twenty-two sail, and manned with veteran seamen. The Swedes attribute their failure to a sudden change of wind. They lost two ships of the line, which got on shore, and were burnt by themselves, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Russians.

You cannot easily conceive the confusion and terror at Petersburgh, when the government were informed by express of this daring assault; or of the joy and exultation here, when another express conveyed the intelligence of the retreat of the Swedish armada. The ships at Cronstadt were neither rigged nor manned. There were only three ships assault, and in the roadstead, and even these few had been necessitated to land their guns before they could be brought out of harbour. The calm weather and other circumstances occasioned this lowness of the water. Here are no regular tides. These depend

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depend upon the course of the winds, and the high or low water in the gulph of Finland. For instance: when the wind is from the westward, or blowing from the Baltic towards Cronstadt and Petersburgh, it brings with it in rolling waves an increased collection of waters, and covers the dry fea beach, from which the waters had retreated during eafterly winds, or a long feries of calm or dry weather.

I found the inhabitants and feamen at Cronstadt crowding on board their navy; the first to view the preparations going forward for their defence; the latter carrying their chefts and baggage. I remained feveral days at Cronstadt; and it was wonderful indeed, in the course of a few days to behold the whole of the Russian sleet in the roadstead, victualled, manned, and in every respect ready for meeting the enemies of the empire. I never before witneffed fuch exertion, or so grand a spectacle of vigour and power. Most of the ships in harbour had to land their guns, and again to have them put on board in the bay. Small fleets of veffels

cm10 11 12 13 vellels were feen daily arriving from Peterfburgh and Oranienbaum, loaded with all manner of provisions and stores: upon their very decks were piled baggage, fails, cordage, clothing of every kind for the feamen; innumerable jackets, trowfers, hats, stockings, shoes. The foldiers' arms added to this show, muskets, pistols, swords, halberts, yet unstained with blood, and newly brought from the ingenious manufactories of human mifery. Other veffels were loaded with recruits from the inland villages, staring wildly around them at these unusual scenes, and curfing in their hearts the turbulent minds. the tyranny, and ambition of princes. Articles necessary to conciliate, or inspire the hero's foul to murder and glory, lay fcattered about: the thundering drum, the earpiercing fife, the shrill trumpet, the standards, and all the pride and pomp of villanous war. The still face of the gulph echoed with the bawling of the failors: the boatfwains' whiftles from every ship made the air ring. The cat-o'nine-tails founded upon the backs of training warriors; and this

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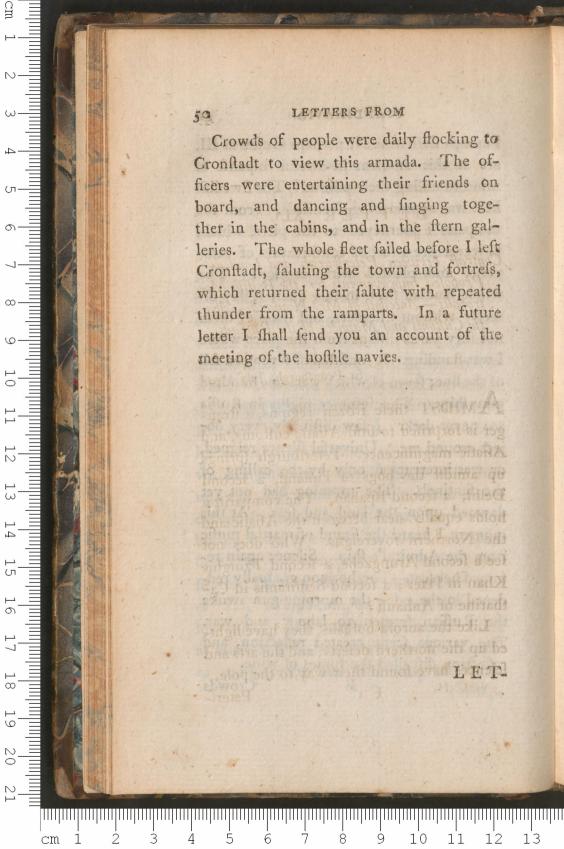
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Perhaps Catharine II, perhaps Gustavus III. are at this moment in aweful suspense of mind tumbling their pillow. The Swedish fleet was approaching Cronstadt. From the ramparts I journeyed to the piers, which, however are a fort of continuation of ramparts, and planted with cannon. The whole Russian fleet, in this quarter, lay directly without the piers, and some of them not fifty yards distant from the place where I was standing. It consisted of seventeen fail of the line; feven of which were one hundred gun ships. The fummer nights in Russia are never dark. I faw diffindly every object around me. Universal silence reigned, or was interrupted only by the calling of the fentinels. The morning had not yet dawned upon the land and feas. At this moment I heard the found of martial music from the Admiral's ship. Silence again refumed her feat-The horizon gradually reddened in the east-the morning gun awoke the Russian seamen to labour and war. The various scene created reflection, and reflection dispelled the fumes of wine.

vol. II. E Crowds



## LETTER XLI.

Contrast between Petersburgh and London— Proposed Improvements for the British Metropolis—Anecdote of Mr. Howard—Asiatic Customs and Manners of the Russians.

St. Petersburgh, July 1791.

AMIDST these frozen regions, a stranger is surprised to find Asiatic customs, and Asiatic magnificence. Petersburgh springs up amidst the bogs of Finland, a second Delhi, a second Ispahan. The comparison holds equally near between the Asiatic and the Northern sovereigns. Who does not see a second Arungzebe, a second Tzinghis Khan in Peter; a second Semiramis in Catharine of Anhault?

Like the aurora borealis, they have lighted up the northern deferts; and the arts and sciences have found their way to the pole.

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Petersburgh, so far as it is finished, is the handsomest city in Europe; and one almost forgets the evils which too frequently attend arbitrary governments, when he beholds the noble regularity and elegance of a capital, which could have been executed only under an arbitrary sovereign.

It is too great a degree of liberty, when a peevish or low-minded individual has it in his power to hurt the superb designs of architecture, by interrupting the uniformity and elegance of cities by fome mean building of his own planning. Is it not to be regretted that the first city in the world in point of wealth, on account of the cause alluded to should be among the last in uniform elegance? London is rather a collection of houses than a city: an aggregate of meanness and splendour. It may be urged, that elegance does not fuit the convenience of trade: but Petersburgh is a proof of the contrary. London itself is in many instances a proof of the contrary. The truth is, that elegance does not fuit the low ideas of the generality of mercantile people, and

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and it requires the interference of a legislature to redeem our metropolis from the hands of traders. They are the most useful subjects of every state, but they are bad engineers and architects.

The poets have told falsehoods in mentioning the existence of river gods. If any existed, there must be some in the Thames: and if there were, they would forbid their streams to pass betwixt London and Southwark, and to wash the dirty wharfs, and other conveniencies of trade which difgrace its banks. The celebrated Adam, in that noble building the Adelphi, has given a pattern for the improvement of the banks of the noble river which it lines. The banks upon both fides of the Thames above London Bridge should be faced with stone, and a spacious street and range of buildings should grace the piers, in the same manner as at Petersburgh. If individual proprietors would not confent to execute this plan, our government might purchase the property at a fair valuation, and dispose of it again to many enterprising gentlemen who would instantly E 3

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the cheapness of rents, and other conveniencies which suburbs will always best afford them. Instead therefore of extending, as at present, the finest streets and buildings upon the dead plain which surrounds our metropolis, let houses of simple architecture be erected. The industrious and the poor will instantly resort to them, and the proprietors of houses in the midst of the city will be obliged to rebuild them in another form; some streets for the reception of the higher ranks, and others for wealthy shop keepers.

In Petersburgh the shops are collected together in the Asiatic style, and serve as shops and warehouses only. But this is not a good plan. The grand display of commerce which we view wherever we walk in London, as well as the splendid illumination of the streets from the shop windows, must give at first sight a decision in favour of our mode, even before we recollect the other advantages attending it. Our shop-keepers, by lodging with their families on the spot where their business is carried on, have their property always under their im-

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mediate care, and derive confiderable affistance from their wives and children.

A Ruffian shop-keeper, besides the expence of clerks, must leave his shop at every meal, and in the evening defert it altogether. Above every shop door in Russia is placed the figure of fome guardian faint. The shop-keeper upon leaving his warehouse after locking the door, and putting a feal upon it, to break which last is deemed the most atrocious crime, crosses himself before the holy painting, thanks it for the quick fale of his goods upon that day, and intreats it to guard his valuables during his absence. The second and application the

I should only wish the Asiatic style of shop-keeping to be followed in the sale of animal food: the most retired spots of cities should be fixed upon, though at convenient fituations for the inhabitants. It reflects no honour upon our feelings, to have the carcales of animals that once possessed life, and instinct approaching to reason, hung up in every corner to incite, but which should rather pall, our appetites. It becomes

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becomes the government of a country to reform a custom so disgraceful to humanity.

Mr. Howard would have carried his reflections upon this topic farther. He was invited to dine at the house of a gentleman in Petersburgh: he delayed coming until he imagined the dinner would be over and the viands \* removed from table; when he ordered a plate of potatoes for his meal.

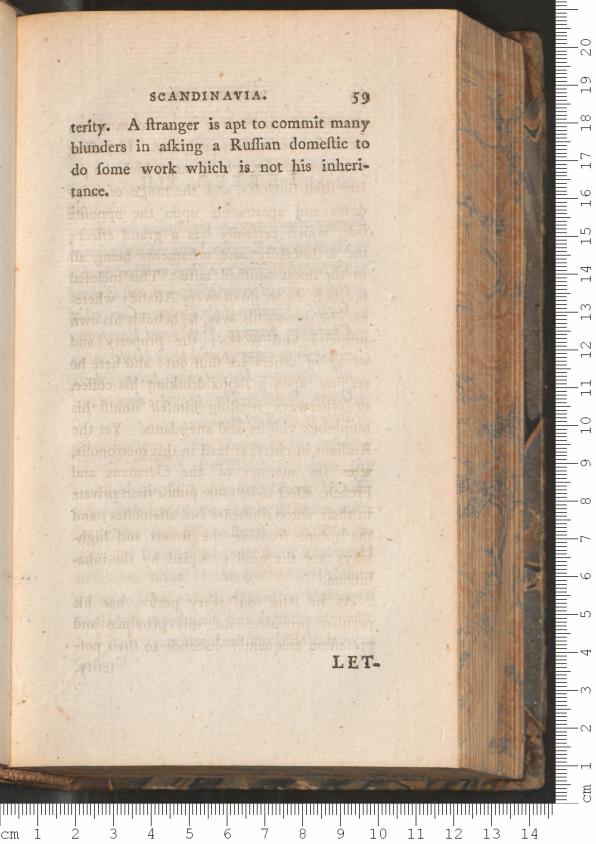
The Asiatics construct every building, public and private, in the form of a square: and the Russians, ab origine Asiatics, inherit this taste. Not only their market places and all buildings for transacting business are of this form, but likewise every building for the purposes of pleasure or magnificence. The houses of the princes and nobles are consequently more superb, but less neat and convenient, than those of modern structure. The whole suite of apartments ferve as entrances to each other. The inhabitant wishes you to pass through them

\* Mr. Howard gave them another name.

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all, before you arrive at the room where he fits and entertains company. In paffing you behold the open fquare which the palace itself incloses, and the range of windows and apartments upon the opposite fide, which certainly has a grand effect; the architecture and ornaments being all in the most finished taste. This inclosed square is the world of every Afiatic: whereever he throws his eyes, he beholds his own property and works; the property and works of others are shut out: and here he reclines upon a fopha drinking his coffee. or otherways regaling himself amidst his numerous visitors and attendants. Yet the Ruffians in cities, at least in this metropolis, after the manner of the Germans and French, affect to be more public than private in their entertainments and affemblies; and the rooms fronting the streets and highways are the most occupied by the inhabitants.

As in Afia too, every perfon has his peculiar province, and this province and profession frequently descends to their posterity.



## LETTER XLII.

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Summer Amusements of the Russian Nobility-Anecdote of a Parisian Lady - Celebration of the fourth of June in a Russian Wood. - Anecdote of a British Officer-of the Finland Girls .- Situation of the Slaves .- Contrast of Character between Afiatics and Europeans. - Russians converse with their Horses, as do all Afiatics. Horse-racing patronised by Count Orloff.—The present degenerated State of the Tartars.

Ingria, July 1791.

YOU would naturally think that no fituation could be more retired than the centre of a Russian forest-You are mistaken. Here is a fmall lake, in which I fish, furrounded with woods. I never conceived it possible to be disturbed in my retreat by other than Satyrs and Naiads, or to behold any other distinguished personage than Pan .到5至过 himself.

cm 10 11 12 13 himself. I am, however, daily interrupted. Princes and princesses, counts and barons, like so many river deities and goddesses, are frequently wandering about with their fishing-rods.

The Princess Gallitzin, Count Cobentzel (the imperial ambassador), General Markoss (director of the college of foreign affairs), and other ladies and gentlemen, took away the boat in which I navigate this inland sea. I will make a complaint to Catharine. I can prove my claim to this lake by near two years' possession.

The great people in Russia conduct themselves with less ceremony than those of any
other nation. This company are regaling
themselves with English beer, upon the
banks of the lake. I have seen the sirst
ranks seated upon the granite benches upon
the banks of the Neva, opposite to some tavern, which supplied them with lemonade:
and here, which is the public street, they
were as much at home as in their own
drawing-rooms.

When I returned to the post-house, a chaise

chaise and six horses had just arrived; it contained a very young and beautiful lady. The trosky with the Princess Galitzin and her company passed their carriage. At this instant the unknown fair-one drew the curtain: this, no doubt, excited the curiosity of General Markoss, who came into the post-house, and asked for a sight of the lady's pass-port.—He read, and smiled.—The charming lady in the chaise was a French sill-de-joie, who had accompanied a Russian Prince from Paris. He grew tired of her, and she has a considerable annuity from him, which, with aids from several acquaintances of rank, enables her to live in style.

I had with me at dinner, fome days ago, half a dozen Britons; and we made the woods, which were close at our windows, re-echo with "God fave the King." An old master of a ship of war added Britannia rules the waves, and Hearts of oak. The Russians looked up to us with admiration, and, no doubt, thought that these were the favourite airs upon the British \* balileka.

\* See vol. I. p. 90.

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This old tar has retired from the Russian fervice, because he is disappointed of promotion. He fays that the Chevalier de Litter, under whom he was first lieutenant, promised him a higher rank, and to procure for him a present in money. The chagrined veteran vents his curses upon the whole Ruffian empire, and drinks fuccefs to Guftavus. This feaman and I were fishing together, at the same place, about this time, last year; when we heard the firing in the engagement between Admiral Kruse and the Duke of Sudermania, near Cronfladt. Lieutenant Smith dropped his fishing-rod, and pulling up his breeches, which were generally hanging lower than they should have been, hastened to the sea-shore, inviting me with many vociferous oaths and exclamations to follow him. The cannon thundered in our ears. Smith, holding up his breeches with one hand, demonstrated to me with the other the feveral manœuvres which the Swedes would make to drive the Russian fleet into Cronstadt. Every shot gave fresh vigour to the

4 cm10 11 12 13 the lieutenant's eloquence: he thought he faw the Russian sleet giving way, the signal for chase at the Swedish admiral's main topmast, and the masts and yards of the Russian sleet dropping like the leaves in autumn. He does not, however, see at a great distance, if I can judge from a circumstance I am going to relate.

Accustomed to stormy scenes, he is rather awkward in country sports. He acquits himself tolerably in fishing, having formerly caught mackerel with a line over the stern gallery of the Cleopatra or some other British frigate.

The lieutenant trudges through the woods with me with a fowling-piece. The game was fcarce, fo I fixed the skeleton of a horse's head among the branches. I hailed Mr. Smith, and desired him to approach with soft steps, lest the bird should give us the slip. With all that anxiety which distinguishes keen sportsmen, Smith drew near, with his musket in full cock, and presented. He took a good aim and fired. He expressed much

much surprise that the bird neither sell nor sled—it must be entangled among the branches. He therefore walked with cautious steps, to take hold of it, fearing that, being only wounded, it might still get off. I made the best of my way home, to escape a volley, which I heard resounding after me through the forest.

The Finland girls come every Sunday to the post-house with their strawberries. They attend church in the morning; the rest of the day they range the forest for the wild fruit it produces. The lieutenant makes love to them. One of the girls is very beautiful—the contents of her basket are sooner disposed of and at a higher price than any of the others. I asked her if she would have me for her husband .- She smiled, and asked me if I would purchase her strawberries. The want of beard is much against me in affairs of gallantry: if I kiss the girls, they turn it into ridicule, and kiss the back of their hands, which they fay is as good as the kiss of an Englishman who has no hair upon his lips. In the week-days the fe-VOL. II. males

males are employed in all manner of drudgery both at home and in the field: upon holidays the younger endeavour to procure fome money in the manner I have noticed, as they receive no other wages than clothes and board from their parents, to whom they are in general fervants. The patriarchal government still exists in many parts of Finland and Ruffia, unless where a tyrant mafter interferes and divides, by fale, the father from his children. Such instances of cruelty, however, feldom occur. The landholders seldom dispose of any others of their flaves than the idle and profligate, who are a burden to the estate, which must not only maintain them, but pay their taxes; and few landholders will purchase such slaves, who are often fold to the army, or fent in place of the more industrious.

This flat country abounding in game, and where there are few inclosures to interrupt the huntiman, invites to rural sports. I expected to hear the hound and horn awake the morning. I have not feen more than one pack of dogs belonging to a nobleman,

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their fpeed by driving in fledges. The Russian and the Tartar Cosfac make companions of their horses; they converse with them, reprimanding or praising them as their conduct merits. I have been repeatedly and well informed, that perfectly in the same manner the natives of India converse with their elephants. I have heard a Ruffian reproach his horse for a lazy ungrateful rafcal, that, notwithstanding he had been well used, and even received that same day a double allowance of oats, he hardly moved with the waggon, and trudged along like a man in irons. The Russian, having worked himfelf into a paffion, feized his horfe by the bridle, and continued beating him without mercy as long as his arm could hold the whip. This Ruffian was driving two fledges loaded with hay: he informed the other horse how he had chastized his lazy fellowlabourer, as a warning to him to escape the like punishment, by laying his shoulders to the draught. Their horses really appear to understand the oratory of their masters: a fingle word or nod is a fufficient hint to 1 the

the animal. In the streets of Petersburgh the sledgemen are fond of being followed by their horses. When not employed, they will give a signal to the horse to leave his station, and the master walks in great state backwards and forwards with his cavalry in the rear. They frequently, too, desire the horses to put their fore-feet in the master's hands, which is instantly obeyed. The horses themselves enter into the humour of this amusement, and shake their heads and tails, expressively of their satisfaction.

Count Orloff is the only nobleman who is diffinguished by his attention to, and delight in, the sports of the turf. He has the finest collection of horses, perhaps, in Europe. Muscow, the family residence of this nobleman, not far removed from Persia and Turkey, uninterrupted by seas, affords him an easy conveyance for bringing to his menage the horses of those countries, and likewise of Arabian horses imported into Turkey. To these are added English bloodhorses. One or more of these the Count annually imports from Yorkshire. The

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race-ground has been formed near Muscow at a considerable expense. Many of the Tartar princes are resident in Russia; not only as hostages, but as visitors, and in order to acquire a knowledge of the arts and sciences.

Why are the Ruffians, fo nearly allied to the Tartars in manners, customs, and language, and both of them fo fond of their horses, so inferior to the latter in horsemanfhip? The predatory life of the Tartars is not more the cause of this superiority to the Ruffians, than the difference of climate of these two nations. Russia, covered with fnow fix months of the year, has necessitated the natives to drive about in sledges: and the Afiatics, and all of Afiatic origin, are cafily necessitated to lie rather than to walk or ride. The Ruffian reclines in his fledge amidst snow and hail: the Indian in his palanquin under the torrid zone. The Tartar, averfe to trade, is put to more violent exercises in search of a subsistence. Tartary, properly fo called, is not covered with fnow for any length of time; and fledges

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are as ill calculated for their country, as for their manner of life.

How fallen the Tartars from their former glory! I allude to their former rank in the peaceful arts, not in war. Those plains, the antient fite of elegance and industry, where proud cities raifed their turrets, and golden harvests covered the wide expanse, are now defert wastes. A few scattered villages and encampments ferve just to mark the residence and the existence of savages. The Empire of Tartary died of the fame disease with Rome; and of several empires more antient than Rome: a thirst of conquest and an overgrown body. The countries where these empires once flourished, as if it were to serve for a monument to the difgrace of mad ambition and war, remain deserts. What is Italy itself, compared with its antient state, but a defert? Affyria and Persia are one wilderness, the abode and retreat of banditti, the outcasts of men. The majority of mankind, now wifer, may fave from destruction nations, which never yet were long preferved by tyrants and their armies.

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## LETTER XLIII.

Of the Facility of acquiring Languages in Ruffia.—Of the Russian Bagnios.—Anecdotes of the most celebrated Nuns.—Anecdotes of some British Officers.—Anecdote of Paul Jones.—Foundling Hospitals.—Anew Plan for establishing Asylums for reformed Prostitutes.

St. Petersburgh, July 1791.

IF you wish to learn half a dozen languages or so, this is the best school for you to come to. It is not merely the variety of foreigners, speaking an equal variety of tongues, but almost every individual speaks three or sour different dialects. The very domestic servants are proficients in languages. The children of the better ranks of English, Russians, and Germans, converse at the earliest age in these several tongues, and likewise in French.

It would make Domine Lingo himself stare to hear these little proficients. Unless in learning the languages grammatically, the children have no teachers but their parents, the servants of the house, and the company who frequent it. It is diverting enough to see and hear the servants or others chiding the children in several languages; and the little creatures weeping, and replying to one in German, to another in Russian, and to a third in English.

You can always, however, find out the native country of the majority of the company, by liftening to the prevailing founds. How natural it is to speak the language of our infancy! I have always noticed that in the heat of discourse, if one could not make himself understood in speaking a foreign language, he inadvertently attempted to explain himself in his own tongue, without considering whether or no a single word of it was comprehended by the party to whom he addressed himself: and whereever a company all of one nation are assembled in a strange land, though they may, from daily habit, converse with the natives

at times in the language of the country they are in, yet the conversation ends in their native notes; and particularly if the bottle circulates freely, the songs and oaths are all of them plain German, or plain English, as the assemblage may be of the one or the other nation.

The grand qualification required here in ordinary fervants, is, to speak several tongues: one can hardly find employment as a porter without such knowledge. Nay, a thorough knowledge in the languages is absolutely necessary, if you would visit the bagnios. You do not know whether the lady of the house is a Russian, a Swede, a German, a Dane, an Italian, a Frenchwoman, a Spaniard, a Finlander or a Tartar.

The Grand Signor has a felect collection of nymphs from Circassia and Georgia at a vast expence; but here every common soldier or seaman, any merchant's clerk, may have a choice from every quarter of the globe. Every thing here is upon the same scale with the empire.—By variety here we do not understand simply a victor

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riety of women, but a variety of nations. The houses of accommodation are upon the fame great plan. There are feveral houses in Petersburgh containing forty and fifty good-natured ladies under each roof. I do not know if it is meant as a compliment to the amorous complexion of the English, who every foreigner will tell you loves his bottle and his girl, that the most extenfive and famous bagnio in Petersburgh is the Ville de Londres.

You will laugh at me for writing the history of bagnios-Have patience-A traveller must overlook nothing. He enters into a compact with himself to pick up every thing. He is a rag-gatherer, but for the purpose of making a noble manufacture of them.

As the Ville de Londres is the most extensive; the house of a Jewess contains the most select, collection of beauty. Yet, true to her faith, she will not herself approach a Christian: she only condescends to take his money. Attentive to business, and possed ling the most liberal ideas of trade,

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the carries it on fystematically. During the war, many brave customers being absent and money scarce, she was rather slack during the summer months, and had only a few heroes of the counter to pay her an evening visit: but no sooner did the sleets return to port, and the army to winter quarters, than this enterprising dealer detached a body of petticoat cavalry from the main body to Cronstadt, Revel, and Wyburg, to welcome the conquering warriors home.

When the carnivals are held upon the frozen river in February, or in the streets in April, the most distinguished puppet-show is exhibited in the wooden theatre of the Jewess. Here, in addition to the nymphs behind the scenes, rope-dancers and tumblers afford most delectable fun. To invite the crowd, the Jewess, with her birds of Paradise by her side, harangues from an exalted situation, to which a ladder enables her to mount, the gaping mobility. She demonstrates clearly that her exhibitions are worth their money, and

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makes fome comments upon mifers. To the aid of oratory she calls in music. She plays a good hand at the cymbals: several of the ladies in waiting are passable upon a drum and a siddle. I have even witnessed no despicable performance upon the trumpet by a fair trumpeter.

There are very few fair nymphs who keep their house and carriage. One or two French ladies are in the first style here. Of these, madam Elliot says she is of English parents, and she speaks sluently the English tongue.

I need hardly mention that a masquerade is a place of intrigue; but in this country it is a place of the lowest intrigue. Any one may obtain admittance for half a crown, and of consequence the company consists of the lowest as well as the highest ranks. The count under masque dances with his chamber-maid and footman. The strictest decorum is observed, and indeed enforced by the presence of police officers, who attend not only here, where they are certainly necessary, but upon all public oc-

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casions, even where the whole of the company are known, and of the most respectable or exalted ranks. If a ball is given at a tavern or public room, whether masqued or no, notice must be given to the police-master of the quarter of the city where the entertainment is to be given, and he dispatches at the usual hour a lieutenant and guard. The custom of the Russians in retaining their carriages and servants whereever they go, or however long they stay, renders this guard very proper and useful.

In the Russian masquerades, consisting of such a mixture as would undoubtedly be attended with a boxing match every moment, were such an assemblage to consist of Englishmen, there is not even an attempt at disturbance; not merely from awe of the guard, but from natural disposition: and should any person offer the least infult, however great the offender or however humble the offended, the aggressed would find a friend by applying to any person of rank in the company.

At one of these masquerades, I observed

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a girl of the town forwardly intruding herfelf upon feveral gentlemen. Fired with her impertinence, one of them pulled off her masque. The girl directly went to a Ruffian nobleman who was feated at the other corner of the room with fome acquaintance: the complained of the infult, and this gentleman, though he faw plainly the rank and profession of the petitioner, left his company and went with the distressed damfel, in fearch of the discourteous knight who had offended her. The offender was a nobleman. This did not prevent an explanation being demanded, and, after mutual laughter at the adventure, the girl was defired to behave herself better in future. disappointed nymph did not leave them without bestowing some sharp language upon both parties. The police officer never takes notice of fuch occurrences unless a complaint be made to him.

Petersburgh, a new metropolis, is rapidly increasing in every convenience for the accommodation of vice. Dancing assemblies, for the purpose of making love bargains,

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are as common here as in London. An English commander of a Russian ship of the line told me, that he was placed rather in an awkward predicament in a little adventure with fome acquaintance at a dancing club. They concluded a treaty with some fair partners, and at the conclusion of the ball drove away in fledges to a bagnio. The Russian bagnios are not constructed, as ours are, by the genius of fuspicion and privacy. A Ruffian bagnio contains in every room, as many beds as it can possibly find space for. But this is not peculiar to the bagnios, but common to all the lower order of public houses in Germany, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, as well as Ruffia; and the reason for this, I apprehend, is, that it requires a less number of stoves.

The captain with his brother officers could have put up with the bagnio as it was: but unfortunately a fresh company of strangers arrived from some other dancing assembly, and wanted exactly the same accommodation. The landlord, as usual, without ceremony let the remainder of the

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beds

beds to the new comers. The captain was chagrined, though he knew the customs of the country; yet making a virtue of neceffity, they joined company at supper, saluted each other's girls, and all went peaceably, in due time, to their chamber.

It is esteemed a piece of magnificence in Scandinavia when a bed has got curtains. This magnificence is not known in the public houses.

His Excellency Admiral Paul Jones, whose name and Lord Selkirk's filver plate will always be remembered together, lodged, at his arrival from the Black Sea, at the Ville de Londres. The admiral being tired of the accommodations which his hotel provided, from the attic stories was smitten one morning with the beauty of the girl who fold him milk for his tea. The girl did not exceed ten years of age, and, not being yet initiated in the paths of vice, made every refistance, and forced his Excellency by her shrieks to permit her to go away. Her mother made a complaint to the officer of police; and the Admiral, not-VOL. II. with-

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well as in all countries: I mean hospitals for the reception of such females as wish to return to the paths of virtue. I know there are some hospitals of this nature in England; but they do little service, owing to the inconsiderate plan of their establishment.

Women who are led aftray are of all ranks: some possess the noblest qualities of the mind, and are accomplished in every respect: it is not proper that such women, willing to give over their infamous profeffion, should be lodged in a common hospital, and mixed with the vulgar proftitutes. The virtuous in high life do not love the fociety of even the virtuous among the vulgar; far less will unfortunate females the society of each other, at a time too when they are inclined to forget each other, and their odious manner of life. Allow that each has a separate apartment, and is waited upon by a feparate fervant: while all descriptions are under the same roof, society with each other cannot be avoided without complaints from the vulgar, who will

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draw no comparison to their own disadvantage. Their fociety could not much improve each other, and to be entirely alone, is to increase melancholy, not virtue, in those who have been accustomed to the opposite extreme of situation. A number of fmall houses should be purchased for this use, either in the midst of cities or in retired places, as may be most agreeable to different dispositions. These houses should not be known by any inscription or mark. They should assume the appearance of lodging-houses: a decent matron with her husband should be appointed to superintend not only household affairs, but capable of giving moral instruction to the lower order of reclaimed proftitutes, and of teaching reading and writing. Or penitents, of the better ranks and characters, might be placed as boarders or pensioners in poor, but creditable, private families. The governors and infpectors should examine the minds of the females applying for fuch afylums, and diffribute them according to their merits, or permit them to make their

own choice, and to change their lodging whenever they inclined.

Such a liberal plan as this would be attended with the most salutary effects. A female having committed one fault would directly have a refuge against the reproach of her relations and acquaintance, and foon find confolation in industry, and in fociety that did not forn her. The false and cruel prejudice of relations might be overcome upon certificates being fent of the penitent behaviour and irreproachable conduct of the unfortunate females; and they might again be restored to their families, or to the world, in various stations, for which their fall and repentance might render them more worthy, than the arrogant virtuous, who have nothing but chastity, or perhaps a command of their passions, or only the fortunate want of opportunity and solicitation, to boast of.

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## LETTER XLIV.

Anecdote of Mr. Wilkes's late House-keeper, now at Petersburgh.—Anecdote of an English Dog.—Russians become jealous of Foreigners, and the Cause of this.—Anecdote of an English Gentleman, a Russian Prince, and of Count —, Governor of Moscow.

St. Petersburgh, July 1791.

THERE is but one English coffee-house in Petersburgh: you will know it by the infeription over the door "Anglis Cassé Hous." It is kept by a late semale domestic of the celebrated Mr. John Wilkes; a Frenchwoman by birth. A new customer is always entertained, along with his cassé, with anecdotes of her mistress, Miss Wilkes, whom she praises highly as the very mirror of virtue and all good qualities.

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This lady, in addition to tea and coffee, formerly the only thing to be had in her rooms, has got a stock of rum to make English punch. She told me, "that she had much difficulty in procuring a licence: that the officers of the customs would do nothing without extravagant fees: but, continued she, I gave them no rest, I went every day, and, as they knew me to be an English woman, I ventured to speak freely to them-I told them that they were a pack of rascals. They were frightened, and gave me my licence." Her method of doing business she informed me was this: "If any " gentleman called for a dish of coffee or "a glass of punch, and forgot to pay for it, " fhe never had any thing in her house "when they called again, until they paid her the old debt."

The most prudent people will meet with misfortunes. She had lately a misfortune in a love affair; and, as every person becomes her confident immediately on his arrival, she stated the matter to me thus: "You have 66 feen that French gentleman by the fide 66 of G 4

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" of my fire frequently—he is a most un-" grateful fellow. He had from me his "lodgings and board for nothing, and he " was unto me as a husband. The fellow," continued this lady, " at last began to give " himself the airs of a husband, and to use "the freedom of fcolding and even of beat-"ing me: but I have a good spirit, and I "this morning turned the ungrateful dog "down stairs." I commended her much for this fensible instance of executive power, and advised her to be more cautious of her next choice; but she is resolved, no doubt while the marks of the blows remain, to have no more connection with tyrant man, I the west to be and we went I sulled to

The English, and every thing from England, were, until of late, all in all with the Ruffians. Even a dog from England would have met with all possible patronage. In the gardens of the palace of Zaríko Zelo I observed a pillar which I supposed erected to the memory of fome worthy. Upon reading the infcription, I found it contained an epitaph upon an English dog! This honest

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honest mastiff, whose courage and fidelity had procured him the favour of the Empress Catharine II, had been brought to Russia by some ship-master. The dog by the direction of some good star found his way to the court; and, no doubt invited by the steams from the Imperial kitchen, resolved to lodge there in preference to the dirty crib upon a vessel's deck, and where he could obtain nothing but the tattered relics of the seamen's dinner for his subsistence.

This judicious preference marked him born for a courtier; but his other qualities were much superior to the ordinary virtues found in levees. He remained at the Court of Russia many years; and, if he was known to slatter, by fawning upon his Imperial mistress, at least he was never known to betray. His epitaph is in substance: "That virtue in animals of whatever kind merits reward: That the animal here interred possessed the noblest virtues, courage, sidelity, and ambition: That, unlike the most part of his countrymen in Russia, who arrived in fearch of vulgar commerce, this dog had contempt-

gers are as much at home as the Ruffians themselves: every person here is surrounded with his countrymen. It is in the inland cities, where attentions of the natives to strangers are most requisite, that they are most paid. Yet, as will happen in other nations, there are, at time, instances of incivility from Russians to strangers, and from strangers to Russians.

A young Irish gentleman was lately at Muscow. One night he was present at a public masquerade. In walking through the rooms he inadvertently, in the crowd, pressed against a Russian lady of high quality. The princess complained of the rudeness; and the gentleman, the moment he understood what had happened, went to the lady, and made the most ample apology. The princess expressed herself satisfied, and the gentleman naturally supposed this affair settled.

A Russian officer, probably some dependent of the prince, the husband of the lady, anxious to shew his attachment to the family, basely encouraged others of the compa-

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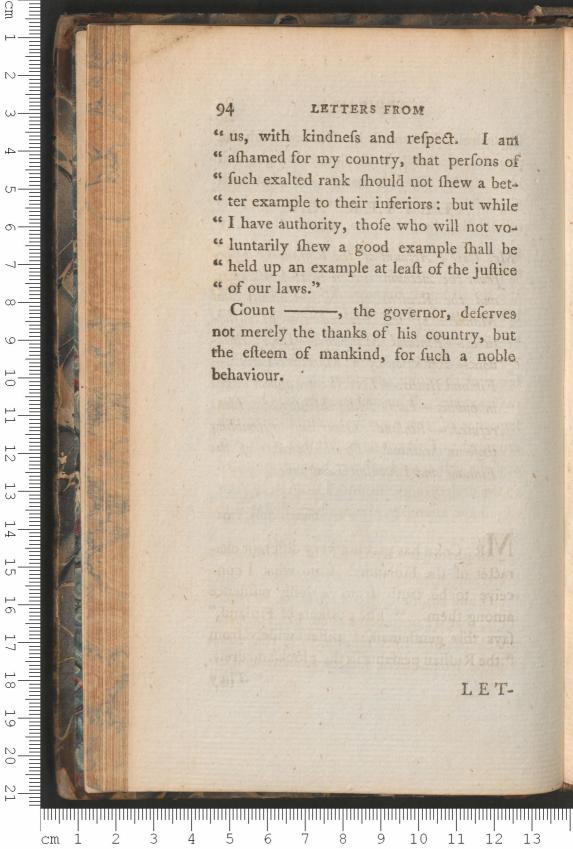
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fcoundrels, he would be fatisfied with the prince's accepting a challenge to fight him in a duel. The governor faid, that fuch fatisfaction was not permitted by the laws of Ruffia, but that he would cheerfully grant any fatisfaction which these did permit.

The stranger thanked the governor for his politeness, and agreed to accept of an apology, which he wrote down, to be delivered by the prince and the officer in presence of the company assembled at the next masquerade. The masquerade was in confequence of this expected exhibition much crowded. The governor himself attended, and the prince and officer, having mounted to the orchestra, pronounced from it, in view of all the assembly, the apology dictated to them.

The governor added: "Thus will I punish "any one who treats ill any stranger. Our "city and country are not so full of foreign-"ers, that we need drive them from us with "rudeness and inhospitality: on the con-"trary, let us invite society so beneficial to "us,



## LETTER XLV.

Mr. Coxe's Account of the Finlanders differs from the Accounts given in these Volumes, and the Reasons of this.—Customs and Manners of the Finlanders.— Manusactures.—Finland Marriage.—Love Anecdote.—Restection upon Marriage-Laws.—Finland Baths.—Their Women appear naked in public.—Lady Mary Montague's Ideas resuted.—Finland Diversions resembling those in Scotland.—Droll Anecdote of the Finland and Livonian Languages.

Ingria, July 1791.

MR. Coxe has given a very different character of the Finlanders from what I conceive to be truth from a long refidence among them. "The peafants of Finland," fays this gentleman, "differ widely from the Russian peafants in their look and drefs.

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landers a spirit of trade, which, notwithstanding that the lands are not near fo fertile as the opposite provinces of Ingria and Esthonia, has made the people richer, and of consequence more cleanly. The Finlanders of Ingria and Esthonia have the same privileges and religion with those of the province of Wyburg, but they have not the same opportunities of trading, nor the fame materials. I shall speak of the commerce of Finland in another place. The poverty of the Ingrians makes them more fervile in their demeanor, as well as more filthy in their habits. The trading class of the Fins, who are ingenious enough in the manufacture of various wooden utenfils, afford a proof of the improvement which might be expected from them in a more happy fituation; where the foil and climate, or where commercial intercourse, invited and encouraged their exertion.

The Finlanders now under the Russian government are, by treaty with their former masters, exempted from providing recruits for the army and navy. This clause had, no doubt, been insisted upon by Sweden, in VOL. II. H order

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mirt, as the room is so warm and the body in a perpetual perspiration. The same benches in the day-time serve for chairs and tables. The looms occupy nearly the remainder of the floor; so that it is with some difficulty any person can turn himself in their houses. To each house is annexed a back yard containing stables for the cattle, and other conveniencies.

I pay frequent visits to these humble dwellings, and converse with the aged Finlander and his family. In my late excurfions I found the daughter bufily employed in weaving upon the loom her weddinggown. I asked her when she was to be married. She had fixed upon her guardian faint's holiday for entering into the temple of Hymen. She was much above the tricks practifed by Ulyfles's queen, nor did the night unravel what the day began. She plied her fingers nimbly: the faint's day was at hand; and she was afraid, that, like the figure of time, if he was allowed to pass, fhe might never lay hold of him again. She was a beauty—a rustic swain was to enjoy all

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her charms. Yet how happy her fate! corfia pared with that of Feodorovna, and preferable to that of a fifter villager who lately ran away with a Livonian gentleman, an officer in the Ruffian fervice, who " having " plucked this fair rofe will foon throw it " like a loathfome weed away!" She was tall and elegant in her person, of a beautiful countenance, lighted up with blue eyes. Her flaxen hair fell in ringlets upon her lovely neck and bosom, and twisting round them. Innocence awaked her in the morning, and lulled her to fleep at night. At last a cruel spoiler came; he promised the young girl fweetmeats and a filken drefs. She followed him to the camp. The distracted father hastened to recover her. The girl was a flave to the proprietor of the estate, and could not be claimed by a father. The tears of the parent prevailed with his lord to endeavour to obtain the daughter and flave. The officer was arrested, and put in prison at Wyburg: yet money has again procured him his liberty and his mistress, whom, no doubt, he has purchased.

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It is exceedingly remarkable to find the youth of this nation fo fair, yet the old people fo black. This must be in a great meafure attributed to the use of the hot baths. The Finlanders generally go to the baths twice a week. The bath is a small wooden building, within which is a fort of oven filled with round stones. Around these the fire is kindled, until they have become redhot; when water is thrown upon them, and the vapour arifing from thence involves the bathers, who are feated upon benches in the state of nature, and occasions a greater or less degree of perspiration in the patients, according to the quantity of water thrown upon the stones. I cannot fay that I ever faw the Finlanders, men and women, bathing promiscuously; but I have seen, as often as I passed the baths, which are situated near some well, the women coming out naked from the stoves to bring water, even when they are exposed to be viewed by every passenger upon a public road. Their tawny colour, the loofe texture of their bodies, and their ugly vifages, rendered the fight difgusting. I can-

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I cannot agree with Lady Mary Montague, 6 that, were it the fashion for the women to " go naked, the face would be the least no-" ticed." Even the most lovely women would lose in our fight by appearing too much in it. The face would still be most admired. It is the throne of the foul; and, however elegant and handsome the shape and air of the other parts of the body, nothing but the additional allurements and grace of the eyes and fmiles, the varied enchantments of a lovely countenance, could fix attention, and command constancy and respect. The young girls, upon holidays, are frequently feen dancing in the fame manner with those of the same age in Scotland. As many as happen to be together, take each other by the hand, forming a half circle; the girl at one end paffing beneath the arm of the girl at the other, leading all the girls with her, and again returning. All of them thus pass beneath the aums of the other girls, alternately finging and fkipping as they perform this figure. It would appear to be a facred dance. The girl who leads repeats

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at each turning fome words with much folemnity: perhaps it is a fort of prayer, calculated to ask charity or presents from the fpectators. Last Sunday, while I was riding upon the fea-shore below Oranienbaum, and opposite to the palace of Count Golofkin, where Mr. Whitworth, our ambassador, now refides, about one dozen Finland nymphs were performing the dance before his Excellency's gate. The Scotch highlanders have customs similar to these. In travelling, which they generally do in bands of ten to one hundred people in fearch of harvest work in the more southern provinces, they commonly dance upon the public street of every town they pass through, to the music of the bag-pipe; and they do this with a view of procuring charity from the inhabitants. I have feen the Finland women dancing upon the ftreets of Peterfburgh, furrounded by those of their party who did not join the dance, and by others, fometimes to the music of the bag-pipe, but more commonly to their own fongs. It did not feem, however, that they danced to pro-

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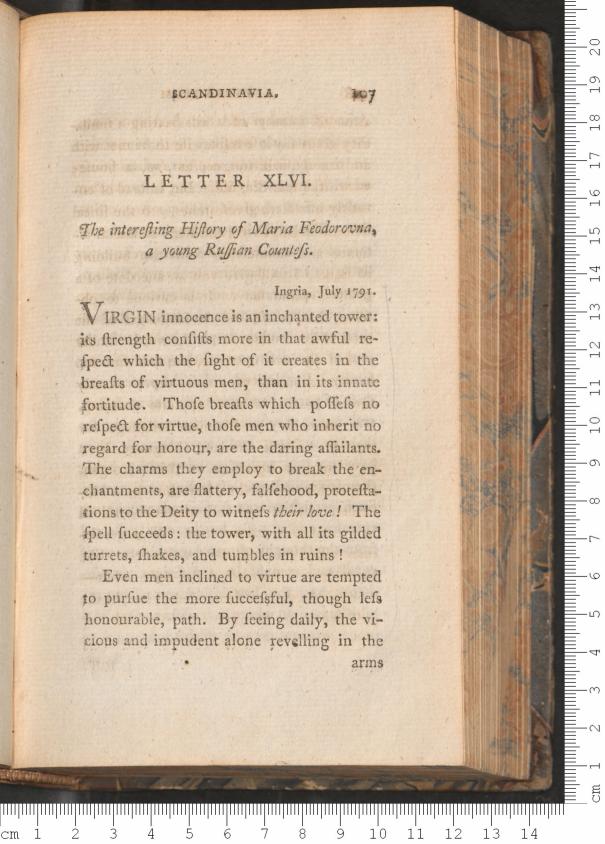
IOA. LETTERS FROM cure charity, but for amusement. It is very seldom indeed that one is asked for charity in this country. A Ruffian lets no opportunity of making mirth escape him. A Russian peafant, carrying a young pig upon his back, came into the ring. The found of the bag-pipe and the Finland fongs did not please him, or perhaps he imagined that the notes of the pig would answer as a first fiddle to the concert: he shook the fack in which the animal was confined, and, pinching his ears at the fame time, added a very new and uncommon melody in vocal performance. de soque I have not noticed many diversions per culiar to the Finlanders: they are, in regard to manners and customs, nearly the same people with the Ruffians. I have feen the peafants in the villages playing at a fort of nine pins; a game common in all the eastern coast of Britain. Several pieces of small round-shaped wood are put, one above the other, upon the ground; two peasants stand fronting each other, at a certain distance from this mark, at which, alternately, they throw a stick, endeavouring to beat these pieces 10 11 12 cm 13

&c. A number of words bearing a fimilarity to the Latin are likewise to be met with in the Russian tongue, as dom, a house; more, the fea, &c. &c. But instead of entering into learned refearches into the lineal descent of languages, and their collateral alliance and connection from the building of Babel, I will give you an anecdote of a chaste Finland lady. It is curious to obferve, that, as we find the languages of the most distant nations having words similar and of the fame meaning, we shall find too in the adjoining provinces words exactly fimilar bearing a very opposite meaning. The word in the Livonian language for money, in the Finland language is a most indecent expression. A Livonian gentleman having a debt due to him by a Finlander, called at his house when the landlord happened to be from home. This gentleman asked the landlady for the debt-She blushed, and stormed at the open insult-The last favour was demanded of her, in the presence of her family!

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arms of beauty and betrayed innocence, they gradually lofe respect for that innocence and beauty, which, too often, when folicited with unremitting diligence, or even when rudely affaulted, gives itself up to profitution. The most virtuous daughter under the care of the tenderest and wifest parent is yet liable to fall a facrifice to every villain of genteel appearance and address. Why do not our laws empower the father, the mother, or the brother, to plant a dagger in the foul of the destroyer of the peace of their family? But, indeed, unless the present conduct of parents and their relatives is altered, and until they receive the victim under their protection, and forget the fault, they have no title to judge or punish; being themselves destitute of feeling and mercy. Such protection and forgiveness would not encourage vice. To be for ever debarred from the thought of marriage with men of equal rank would be a fufficient punishment: and the law should expressly prohibit marriage with the ravisher, that virtuous women may be enabled at once to know

know the real intentions of their fuitors, the moment the least indecent word or action is practised by them. Until such laws are made; until parents and relations, and so-ciety agree to protect the unfortunate daughter, and to forget the first fault and commission of vice, our laws, our relations, and society only bear a name of which they are unworthy.

Let me behold the consequences of this criminal conduct. A lovely daughter is brought up under the care of, what is commonly called, the fondest parents. She is deluded under the promise of marriage, or, allow that the delufion fucceeded without fuch promise: the fond parents tear their hair and weep bitterly; but they order their daughter to be driven from the house. They weep for the dishonour that has happened to their name; and to cure this dishonour they foread the infamy; they drive out their descendent to repeat the crime; and their name becomes known in every bagnio. There are only two ways to fave the honour of the family thus fituated; to continue

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the parents of their child, or to put her to inis mediate death. Death would be mercy in comparison to the disgraceful prostitution the must now suffer. In her first outset she is careffed by all those lovers who were acquainted with her and her family. Necessity; fometimes revenge for the baser treatment of those who gave her existence, blunts the agony arifing from this fad change! The companions of her father and brothers are familiar with the daughter and fifter. She is deferted, at last, by all her acquaintance, for fome other lady who has more lately been turned out of her father's house: she enters the metropolis, and disposes of her favours to every customer. Shame is now fled; and if she boasts of her family to raise her price, one species of misery succeeds to another, and the natural confequences of want and disease are often anticipated by a voluntary death.

The history of the Russian lady to whom I have alluded in my last letter, is not so well known as it ought to be. It contains an awfully interesting lesson to parents,

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and displays the fatal effects of a rigorous treatment of their offspring. It was the apprehension of a rigorous treatment from a parent of a violent temper that occasioned the miseries of Maria Feodorovna. She was a lady of distinguished rank and fortune, the only daughter of a nobleman.

During the early period of her life, her education was anxiously attended to by the best of mothers, whose foul bore upon it the impression of every noble feeling and virtue. The mother, while she held her favourite daughter before the glass, saw an exact copy of herfelf in form of body; and the never-ceasing smile upon the cheeks and lips of Maria feemed to befpeak an equally beautiful copy of her mind. This mother died: and the youthful Ruffian countels. from the love and care of her mother, from the polite and elegant round of a court, and from the fociety of her dear Markoff, who was enraptured with this amiable female, was hurried by the haughty baron to a diftant estate amidst the wilds of Russia.

Here, furrounded with deferts, nor view-

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ing one object that could bring some happy comparison in thought between them and past scenes, the lovely Maria exhausted her bosom in sobs, and watered her pillow with tears.

The fociety of count Markoff could have lighted up this defert, and dispelled those tears. Disappointed ambition had occasioned a misunderstanding between the two families, and the name of Markoff was forbid even to be mentioned in the house of the baron. His fondness for his lovely daughter could not overcome his abhorrence of his fuccefsful rival, the father of young Markoff; nor permit him to entertain the most distant idea of that connection which he knew was the ardent wish of the youthful pair. His brows darkened with rage, when he faw one of his blood who wished not destruction to the house of Markoff.

Maria was kept in perpetual agony by this unfortunate disposition in her parent, yet forced to affect an indifference to all she loved, while she daily drooped and pined in silent melancholy.

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melancholy. But no affectation could bring back the rofy health which had lately painted her cheeks; and her languid fmiles and action were diseased copies of that lively manner which had diftinguished her in happier days. That innocent mirth, unmixed with care, born in the lap of childhood, and expiring with it, was never again to return. Maria was not even destined to enjoy that happiness to which her virtue entitled her. In vain had a mother inspired her with every noble and virtuous fentiment; in vain had nature endowed her with a person the model of beauty, and with an exalted foul; in vain had fortune lavished riches, extensive domains, and thousands of flaves ready to kneel at her feet whenever she appeared.—The meanest of these slaves was to possess Maria.

Count Markoff, difregarding every dictate but that of love, and the dangers which Maria had represented to him as the certain consequence of any attempt to visit her, left his residence near Mascow, and journeyed towards that spot, which was to give vol. II.

her illness, was affisted to reach her chamber without the knowledge of the awful parent who had occasioned her distress.

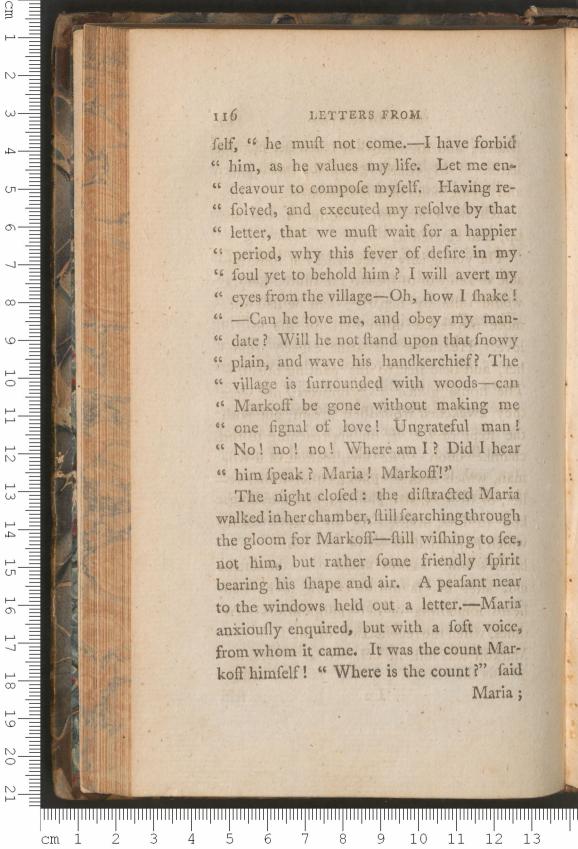
Maria, overcome with grief, and now giving up every thought of viewing her beloved Markoff, funk upon her bed in fits of despair and madness. Reason again refumed her feat: a letter was dispatched to Markoff at a neighbouring village, defiring him, as he valued his own and her life, to leave the place, and return to Moscow, where there might be still a possibility of their meeting. Having figned and fealed this letter, she held it in her hands, without knowing what she did. She broke the feal of her letter, and, seizing the pen, gave that utterance it afforded to her paffion; and amidst the effusions of ardent love she mentioned the attempt she had made to see him.

Markoff's bosom could not contain the emotions of his foul on reading this letter. The cool, prudential, first part was overturned by the concluding postscript.

Maria stood at the window, looking towards the village. "No," said she to her-

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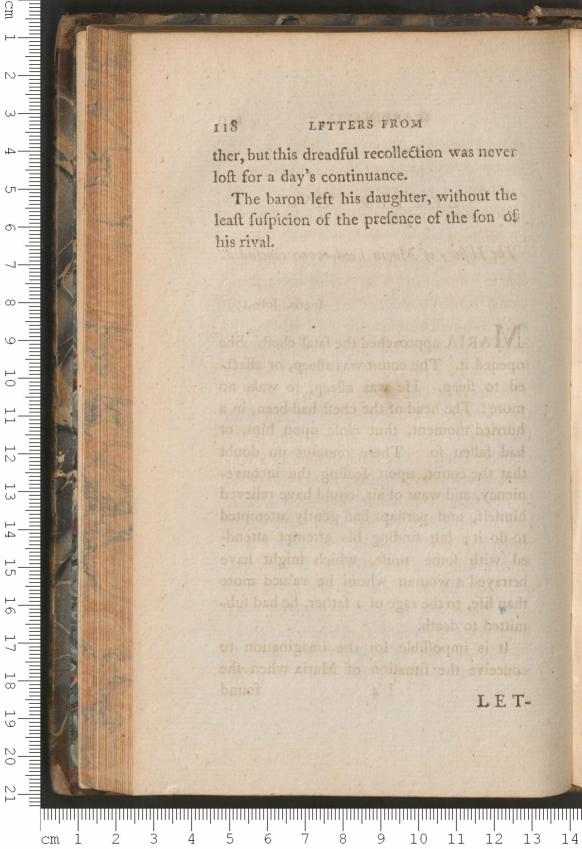


Maria; and stretched out her hand for the letter. "My Maria!" replied the count; and laying hold of the branches of a tree which stood near the window, he climbed up, and entered it.

The young lady stared wildly at him, unable to refift or to speak. He assured her, he would inflantly depart, when he had once more impressed upon her lips the seal of love. He threw his arms eagerly around her, and held her to his panting breaft.-The hours glided away unfeen; nor were they awakened from their dream, but with the steps of the baron approaching to the chamber door. The imagination of a woman, which is ever quick, either to her relief, or to her destruction, suggested to Markoff to hide himfelf in an empty cheft, which happened to be in the room. The baron's visit was to enquire, as he often did, after his favourite child; as he had heard fomething of her indisposition. At times, when the recollection of the family of Markoff was loft, he behaved as a fond fa-

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## LETTER XLVII.

The History of Maria Feodorowna concluded.

Ingria, July 1791.

MARIA approached the fatal cheft. She opened it. The count was afleep, or affected to fleep. He was afleep, to wake no more! The head of the cheft had been, in a hurried moment, shut close upon him, or had fallen so. There remains no doubt that the count, upon feeling the inconveniency, and want of air, could have relieved himself, and perhaps had gently attempted to do it; but finding his attempt attended with some noise, which might have betrayed a woman whom he valued more than life, to the rage of a father, he had submitted to death.

It is impossible for the imagination to conceive the situation of Maria when she

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found the lifeless corpse of Markoff! She continued for some time to believe that the count was affecting sleep, and reproached him for playing the sool. At last she pulled him with some violence and anger: the body fell again into the chest. She screamed; and fortunate would it have been had the baron heard this cry of horror. Dreadful as her situation was, the idea of her father's wrath added to her misery. Mad with agony, she clasped the body of the count, calling upon his name, and, at calmer intervals, using every endeavour to restore him to life in vain.

The filence of the night was disturbed with the fighs, the shrieks of Maria, now reclining upon the corpse, now at her window tearing her hair, and imploring Heaven to end her existence. The morning began to dawn—she roused from her distracted melancholy, and thoughtful of what the light of day and her furious father were to discover. The slave who is appointed watchman to every house throughout Russia is the only person readily to be procured during the

vants, who look down upon the watchman as an inferior being, dared at once to form a wish to possess the person of Maria! He began, without much ceremony, to use freedom with the countefs. Overpowered as the was with despair and grief, the struck the villain: for a moment she forgot her forrows, and, refuming the dignity of her rank, she bade him begone. But it was too late: the flave knew her fecret, nor was there any other affiftant to be had. The villain knew this; and, pretending to go to the baron to inform him, Maria called him back. He obeyed with fullen importance. He took the filver and gold trinkets which the now added to the first present—he followed her towards her chamber—he stopped fuddenly, and fwore that if she did not infantly fubmit to his embraces, he would directly acquaint the baron with all. Maria, in her turn, fell upon her knees to the flave: she entreated and befought him, with every foothing expression, and with a promise of freedom and wealth. She held by the flave, while he endeavoured to rid himfelf

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himself in order to proceed to the baron's bed-room. She fainted in the struggle to detain him.

The villain turned, beheld his prey, and feized upon it.

The favage reforted to the chamber, where lay the corpfe of Markoff. He carried it to the woods, and, cutting the throat, and otherways disfiguring it, left it a prey to animals less ferocious than himself.

Maria awoke to a new scene of woe. The baron observed the melancholy brooding upon her mind, and guessing that the cause related to the detested family of Markoff, abused her with his usual rudeness. The distresses of this ill-stated lady were not to end here. The slave renewed his addresses, and with the same threats of informing the baron, adding, that he would accuse her of the murder of the count.

Maria, as yet guiltless, committed a fault unbecoming of her rank and innocence: but the accusation against her is solely for the want of fortitude. A crime once committed, appears less hideous: this lady had

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for this lady. It will be urged that her fecret was now betrayed to others, and she had no longer the apology just mentioned for submitting to prostitution. But the slave found little difficulty in persuading her, that his friends would keep the secret as well as himself; or, if she had little faith in this, the chance of their keeping it she preferred to the certainty of its being instantly told by her savage tyrant, if she resused to comply.

The wretched Maria never again beheld with a fmile the morning dawn. Her eyes dejected, her colour pale; she started from her glass, and, throwing her clothes carelessly about her, she supported with pain, while with her father, the appearance of ease and happiness.

To multiply his gains, the flave was not always fatisfied with the admission of only one visitant at a time. He dragged her to some neighbouring cottage, where were generally assembled, at the dead hour of night, several of the wealthy inhabitants of the country. The hour arrived when Maria

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was to be freed from contamination; and it must be supposed that she had before entertained the idea of extricating herself, and that this idea had supported her sinking mind, and had prevented her too from freeing herself by suicide. Reslection had painted the shameful course that she walked in, and she saw no end to her forrows. The pride of rank, roused with repeated insult, determined upon revenge. Female nature yet revolted, and she allowed several opportunities to escape.

The brutal ravishers formed themselves into a club. Maria was the sacrifice at their feasts, and was treated with every indignity which drunken appetite could incite.

The moment of vengeance at last comes. Her tyrants, overwhelmed with liquor, slept upon the benches of the cottage. Maria saw, and her good angel approved the period of freedom and justice. She trembled as she approached the slave. She invoked Heaven to give her resolution, and, pulling the knife from the belt of the savage, plunged it into his heart. Her forti-

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tude rekindled with the stroke. She proceeded on to the other villains, who belched their drunken fumes in their slumbers, and planted a dagger in every breast.

Maria had no fooner completed the work of vengeance, than she fled home. She besheld from her windows the rising sun, and she imagined herself a new being in a new world! "Markoff," faid she to herself, "will "be here! These are the Elysian fields: "I will go out and meet him." She wandered in the forest which covered his body. She knew the spot, and kneeled upon his tomb. Her voice denied utterance: her tears watered his grave, and she strewed upon it her slaxen hair. Still awed by her father, she concealed from him her forrow, and affected ease and mirth.

The idea of having committed murder often threw her into fits of despair. She thought to ease her conscience by making a confession to her priest. The assonished priest had never witnessed such a confession. The wrotch betrayed the secret to his wife.

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128 LETTERS FROM The minions of justice were soon in search of Maria. The relation spread throughout all the empire. Her Imperial Majesty, having ordered a strict examination into the particulars, acquitted this unfortunate lady, and took her under her immediate protection. Tired of life, now that her shame was public, she would have preferred death to all other protection. She begged the Empress to allow her to retire to a monaftery; and here, feeluded from a world where the found no rest, the endeavours to forget all but her God and her Markoff. Her cell is small but neat. A few religious books compose her library. The picture of Markoff hangs upon her lovely bosom.— She calls it her faint, and kiffes it with fervent devotion. Her first office in the morning is prayer: she then goes to the bath, and repeats this in the afternoon. She feldom wanders beyond the monaftic walls; or, if the does, the traverses the gloomiest wood, or fits by a rivulet which encircles her abode; and here, with folded arms and downcast 10 11 cm 12 13

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is ornamented with many palaces and noblemen's villas: the banks of the Neva are gilded with fparkling turrets upon all fides. The favage natives of the woods have retreated; the bear and the wolf are feldom feen here. Sometimes in winter they visit their ancient abodes, and howl vengeance at man for depriving them of those bleak regions.

The road to the palace of Zaríko Zelo lies through this forest, and runs twelve miles in a straight line from Petersburgh, forming a spacious avenue, at the end of which you ascend a small hill. From the top of this height there is a fine view of the surrounding provinces of Ingria and Carelia, thickly spread with woods. In summer their tops represent a rich carpeting; and, if you please, the villages, the furniture of this extensive drawing-room; the azure sky, the ceiling.

The Imperial palace of Zaríko Zelo itfelf, which I fee at a distance of five miles, looks like a bird-cage placed upon the carpet. Such are the ideas of earthly

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LETTERS FROM 134 closed promenade in the centre, is another around it in the open air. Adjoining to the gallery are the Imperial baths, the rooms of which are wainfcoted with agate, jasper, and lapis lazuli, and the baths fitted up with every decoration and convenience. The modern elegance of the gallery and baths forms a striking contrast with the ancient fplendour of the old palace. I like this contraft. There should be something more in the palaces of princes than the invention of yesterday. I cannot separate the idea of a palace from Gothic turrets, and high founding halls. The recollection that the palace itself is not ancient is the only cause that we at first find fault with the Gothic appearance of it, and especially as the architect has contrived to make it a very bad imitation of the Gothic style, neither ancient nor modern. The village of Zarsko Zelo should be razed. This is too near the palace, which at prefent is only the largest house in the village, and the Imperial caravanfera is too nearly affociated with the huts of plebeians. Confidering the flatness CM 10 11 12

of the ground; without any river, and with woods confifting only of barren pine, and birch-trees of a diminutive fize, it is wonderful to find fuch beautiful gardens and pleafure grounds. Catharine is the enchantrefs, who with the magic wand of wealth and power makes rivers to flow in the defert; hills to rife amidst plains, and fruits and flowers to cheer the gloomy wilderness. Here are fine pieces of water, procured at an incredible expence; islands whose fhores were formed with the spade; and upon these, and other parts of the gardens, pillars, obelifks, and triumphal arches, to commemorate the glorious fuccesses of Ruffia, and of those heroes and patriots who have distinguished themselves in the service of their country. Over the pieces of water are thrown bridges of marble and granite. In the lakes is a fmall Imperial navy of pleafure-boats, elegantly built and gilded: yet this collection, fmall as it is, is greater, both in number and fize, than the original navy of Peter I. which in the beginning confifted of one yawl!

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ever is gradually rooted out by the modern gardener, and nature copied in its stead. The summer theatre stands in the gardens; and here, amidst a wilderness, the Tragic and Comic Muses strut their hour upon the stage.

Without the boundaries of the pleafureground is fituated the new city of Sophia. Only a few houses are yet built, and the first built house, as in all religious kingdoms, was the church, a very elegant edifice. I must give you an anecdote of its priest. M. Samboriski, the parish priest of Sophia, is chaplain and confessor to His Imperial Highness the Grand Duke. This gentleman was formerly many years in England chaplain to the Russian embassy, and likewise accompanied the Grand Duke in his travels through Europe. While M. Samboriski resided in England, he made agricultural affairs his particular study, and since his arrival in Russia every scheme for the advancement of agriculture has either originated with this gentleman, or the schemes of others have been submitted to his confideration

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purpose. But this ought to point out to M. Samboriski to alter the mode of employing them. If he would establish them in farms of their own, upon the same plan as in England, and make them depend upon their own industry, the Russians and Fins, bred under such farmers, would soon repay the landlords, who, in consideration of having their peasantry taught the art of agriculture, had granted farms at a trisling rent, and advanced money to the foreign colonist.

M. Samboriski was the first priest, and I believe is yet the only one, in Russia who has ventured to shave himself. This step has drawn upon M. Samboriski the indignation of all the monks; among whom are dignitaries the highest of the church, and who consider the clergy who are allowed to marry as much inferior to them in holiness. But, now that the pastor of Sophia has shaved himself, he is looked upon as an apostate. At the consecration of Sophia-Chapel, M. Samboriski was pushed from the altar by the monkish archbishop,

## LETTER

Defeat of the Swedish Fleet-Swedish Prisoners of War .- Meanness and Folly of the Life and Occupation of Military Mercenaries .- Swedish and Russian Uniforms .- Armorial Bearings.

and I am book a shown Ingria, August 1791.

AS you feem to possess great curiosity to know the naval transactions of this country, I shall resume that subject. The defeat obtained last naval campaign by the Rusfian over the Swedish fleet was one of the most complete that was ever gained. The crews of the ships of war who had been captured were ordered into the inland parts of Russia.

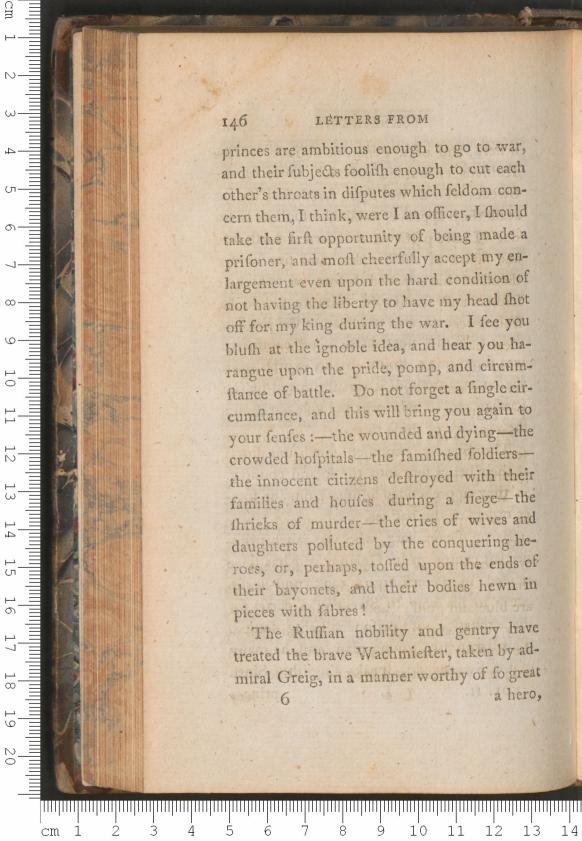
I saw a party of two hundred marines and foldiers of the king's guards as they marched past from Oranienbaum where they had been

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Revel, were sent up the country, under the guard of a troop of Cossacs. These depredators, having had sew opportunities of plunder, resolved to make the most of their convoy; and, having detached a party before the main body, purchased provisions, and retailed them to the Swedes, at an advance of 50 per cent. Nay, they sold to their prisoners the water from the Russian wells. This new branch of commerce was soon put a stop to by an express from the court, to whom it was intimated by the Russian officer, who was not able to restrain the rapacity of those thieves.

The Swedes expressed much uneasiness at their being sent into the inland country, as they apprehended insults from the lower orders of the natives.

Baron Rosemberg, who was taken prisoner last campaign in Finland, and has since resided in Petersburgh, took post-horses lately in his way to Sweden; a cartel for the exchange of prisoners being settled. The Baron is a young man, and, as many of the Swedes do, speaks English. Since you, II. L. princes

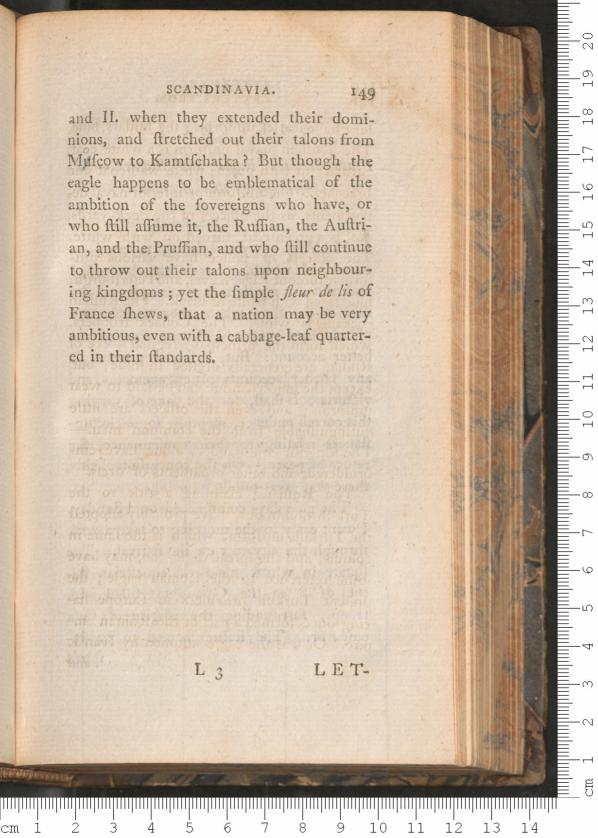


a hero, and of a generous nation. If the Ruffians encourage privately those of the Swedes who do not fight for their King, at least they approve publicly of those who do. I have particularly observed the stature and figure of the Swedes, and five or fix thousand have passed before me of their foldiers and feamen, a mixture, no doubt, from every part of Sweden. This fecond view has confirmed me in my former strictures upon M. Buffon, who would reprefent the northern nations as a race of decrepid pigmies. The Swedes are just such a mixture as the other nations of Europe prefent. Their fair hair is their chief distinguishing trait.

We had last year in the neighbourhood an encampment of the horse guards, upon their march to Oranienbaum, where they were ordered as an additional defence of that out-post. The uniforms of the guards are blue and gold; those of the officers are very richly embroidered. The uniform of the Russian infantry is green turned up with red; red waistcoat and breeches. The artil-

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foired with life. The blaze of arms, the martial founds of the drum and trumpet. faluted my ears, as I went to the palace. The streets were lined with infantry: and, just as I arrived, the foot guards were marching into the fquare before the palace; the grenadier companies, crowned with nodding plumes, leading the way. One of these regiments, which had particularly distinguished itself in the war, was received, as it passed by the others, with military honours.

Catharine, from her windows, beheld her troops returned from battle. Upon the opposite side of the palace, the galley fleet lay at anchor in the river, with all their flags and pendants displayed from every mast and yard. The wind blew strong from the westward, the flags rustled in the storm. Among the galleys, those of the admiral Prince of Nassau, and of the Chevalier de Litta, fecond in command, were most diftinguished by their decorations. The decks of all the veffels were crowded with foldiers and feamen. Vast multitudes of the citizens L4

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citizens were collected together upon the banks of the Neva, to view the fleet; and another concourse, equally numerous, attended in the grand square to see their sovereign, who, as soon as divine service was ended, came into the balcony, attended by the ladies of the court. Catharine bowed to her subjects, who made the air ring with their shouts.

Medals struck to commemorate the peace were thrown amidst the crowd by two heralds on horseback. A feu de joie was fired by the guards, and from them ran along the line of troops to the most distant parts of the city. The cannon from the admiralty fired at the same time, and immediately afterwards the whole galley fleet faluted the fovereign and subjects with their thunder, and with repeated broadfides. This awful peal awakened the attention of the people, who were fcrambling for the medals. This immense body, crushed together towards the river, were now involved in clouds of fmoke, mixed with the continual flashes from the mouths of the cannon. The wind

wind at intervals dispersed the smoke, and discovered the numerous ships and pendants; the whole giving a lively idea of those battles in which they had been lately engaged.

In the evening the galley fleet was fuperbly illuminated with different-co-loured lamps, hung upon the mafts, the yards, the fides, and among the rigging. The darkness of the night, and the wild irregularity of the lamps, which appeared like meteors in the air, had an uncommon, but grand, effect. The city, too, was illuminated in every quarter.

Her Imperial Majesty dined in public with her naval and military officers upon Tuesday. Upon Thursday the populace were entertained with oxen roasted whole, and two fountains of wine. The fountains were erected in front of the palace, and the oxen were placed upon stages near them. The fountains were beautifully painted and decorated. The wine sprung into the air the moment that her Imperial Majesty appeared in the balcony. The populace crowded

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crowded about the basons which received the falling vintage, and, using their hats for cups, dipped them into the basons, and quaffed the sparkling liquor. Another party, at the fame fignal, mounted the stages, and pulled in a thousand pieces the filken cover which hid the bodies of the oxen; their heads and gilded horns alone being feen before. The oxen were then quickly diffected; and from their bellies, stuffed with every fort of viands, were showered fowls, tongues, hams, joints of veal, mutton, &c. upon the heads of the mobility. I could perceive Catharine smiling at the struggles among her fubjects for loaves and fishes: it was only a coarfer picture of the fame struggles among her courtiers. The fountains and stages, from the fwarms of affailants, refembled bee-hives. The fortunate were repelling those beneath them from getting up, fecuring their feats near the oxen and the wine, and distributing to their friends a leg of mutton, or a hatful of the juice of the grape.

In walking home I found it easy to overtake the honest Russians: most of whom

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had burdens which they found difficult to carry. Every faithless puddle betrayed their feet. They were in general boasting of having got drunk with wine like gentlemen!

On the fucceeding Tuefday, a public masquerade was given at court, and all ranks admitted by tickets. The Empress, the Grand Duke and Duchess, with the young Imperial family, the Ruffian Ministers, the foreign Ambassadors, the naval and military officers, the principal inhabitants of the city, as well as the lowest classes, were asfembled together. The grand ball-room was allotted for the polite part of the affembly, and here they continued dancing the most part of the night. Her Imperial Majesty appeared in this room about ten o'clock, but foon retired. The Grand Duke and Duchess, arm in arm, walked through every room-and with fome difficulty, the crowd was fo great. Besides the affemblage in character and dreffes, and in dominos, were an equal number in their ordinary habits; which, however, were more

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more curious and various than the others. The Russian boor, the Finlander, the Coffac, the Tartar; Turks, Polanders, and many others, in their native robes, and speaking together the different languages of their nations, presented a group of singular variety. The Swedish and Russian officers, in their respective uniforms, were now walking side by side, or mixing in the dance.

The gala days ended with fire-works, which were played off in a field adjoining to the fummer gardens. A fmall wooden building was fitted up for the accommodation of the Imperial family, fronting this field; and stages sitted up around it for the conveniency of the public. The firing of cannon announced the approach of Catharine, and a sky-rocket soon after gave the signal to begin. The temple of Janus opened its gates; the suries hissed, and tossed their slaming brands within it; the thundering of cannon and of musketry declared the raging of war. Peace succeeded, and the gates of Janus were shut. The temple

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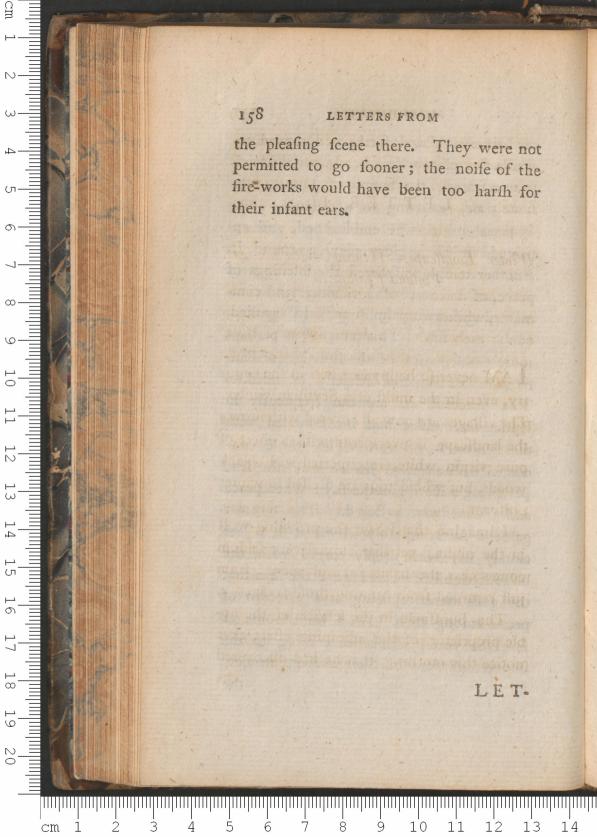
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of Minerva blazed forth, and moved towards the place where her Imperial Majefty was feated; the temple of Janus, at the fame time, removing to a distance. The Imperial initial was emblazoned, and appeared amidst a glory playing round it. Another temple displayed the bleffings of peace, of science, of agriculture and commerce, while two palm branches flourished, one at each fide. This temple was perhaps more emblematical of the fituation of Ruffia than her Imperial Majesty intended .-The peaceful arts are too frequently in Ruffia furrounded and incommoded with the fire-works of war. The whole concluded with a grand feu de joie; the Im\_ perial eagle foaring in the fky: when peace and filence were reftored. The fummer gardens were fuperbly illuminated. The cloudy sky was deeply tinged with the blaze from all fides, and gave the idea that the gods were rejoicing at the return of peace among men. As I went home, I faw the young Princesses coming to the fummer gardens in their carriage, to view the



## LETTER LI.

Winter Landscape.—Hunting.—Russian and Finland Peasants.

Ingria, November 1791.

I AM never so happy as when in the country, even in the midst of a Scythian winter. The villages are now all covered with snow; the landscape is overspread with a sheet of pure virgin white, interspersed with black woods, but whose tops are dressed in winter uniform.

I imagine that I hear the prowling wolf in the night; yet that animal very feldom comes near the habitations of men. I am just returned from hunting those savages.

The huntiman in the fervice of the noble proprietor of the adjoining estate gave notice this morning, that he had discovered

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the track of the wolves, and fummoned the tenants to affift him in destroying thems In winter the wolves can do little or no mischief, as the cattle are all within doors; but, as they are very destructive in summer to the herds, the peafants take the favourable opportunity, when the fnow betrays their haunts, to lessen the number of those robbers. About fifty or fixty Finlanders were foon collected, armed with clubs. The nets were put into a fledge. I went in another sledge, and carried a musket with me. Upon our arrival at the woods, the nets were hung upon the branches of the trees, about five feet distance from the ground, being the depth of the nets, and they extended an English mile around that part of the forest where the wolves lay. The nets thus placed, the Finlanders were stationed near them, and upon the outfide, hiding themselves behind bushes. All this is executed with most profound silence. Another party, when every thing is in readiness, surround that part of the forest to which the nets have not reached, to prevent the

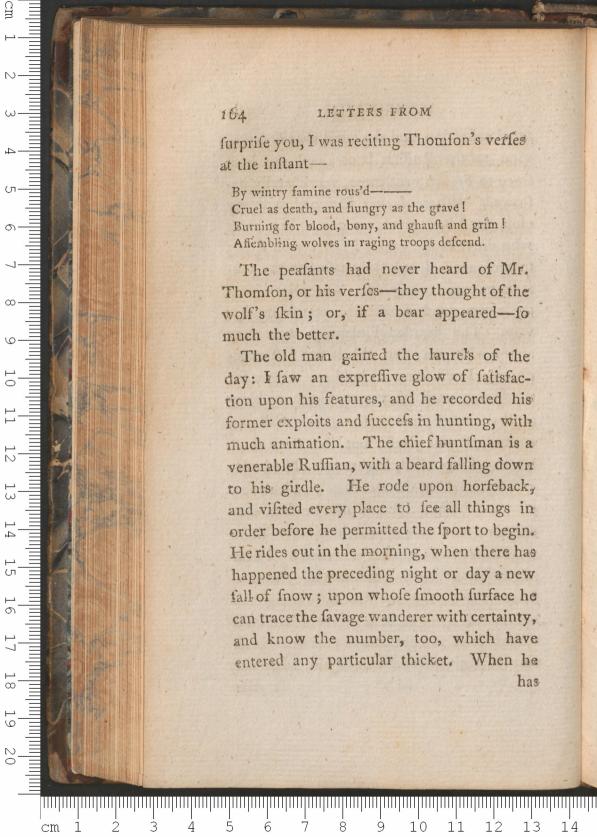
the wolves from escaping that way, and, gradually advancing, fet up a dreadful howling; and, at the fame time, firing musketry, they drive the game into the fnares. The wolf, when he approaches them, makes a leap. He feldom clears them, though the height is only five feet, but he falls upon the net, and is entangled. The nets are slender, and would foon be torn in pieces, and the wolf escape. The peasants are active to prevent this, and inftantly affault him with their clubs. The animal is overpowered, after making a fierce refiftance, and, being tied with ropes, is put into a fledge, and carried to the village, generally alive. At this hunt, feveral wolves approached the nets; but, seeing the guard, returned, and attempted to escape at other parts, or boldly to push their way through the hunters who were driving them into the nets, and who could only give those fleet animals a passing blow. One of them entangled himfelf at a place where a very old peafant was stationed. The Finlander struck the wolf several simes; but with a feeble arm, and the favage got off. VOL. II. M Another

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fonal reflection, and the word canaille, common to the Ruffian boors, and not long fince to French gentlemen, was liberally bestowed. Where I was stationed with my club, for I had given my gun to that party who drove in the game, I faw a wolf flying towards me. I unluckily called to the peafants to come to my aid. The animal took the alarm, and directed his course another The bearded Finlanders were very angry with me; but this is my first expedition; I will learn to hold my tongue for the future, until I have got at least one blow at the enemy among the nets. Call me coward, if you please, but the truth must be out-I was a little frightened. The hunters were making the woods echo with a fort of war-whoop. I could not be fure that only one wolf was approaching me-there might be two-three-a dozen! There might be a crony bear among them .-I faw the favage indiffinctly among the bushes. He might be a tiger: I had only the words of the peafants to make me think alone of wolves: and then, again, what will M 2

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has discovered their haunt, he next makes a circuitous journey around it, to view whether or no they remain, or have gone out at another part; and puts up marks to inform himself again of the track of his journey, or of the fittest spots where to place the nets. Having affured himself that the wolves are resting in the thickets, he hastens to the neighbouring villages, and procures affistant hunters. One end of the net is generally placed opposite to the track where the beafts had entered, as they often return the same road. This wolf now taken had his legs untied upon his being housed; but the Finlanders would not trust him with the free exercise of his jaws. He was fent to Petersburgh as a curiofity. They are feldom caught alive, or rather allowed to live, as the peafants prefer killing them for the skin. Nor are there many killed or found near Petersburgh; and, however strange it may seem, there are kept in the Russian metropolis collections of wild animals, bears, wolves, &c. to show to the inhabitants, who, notwithstanding that they

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animal in the creation. The young ones are very playful. I have feen them not above fifteen inches in length, and just taken from the mother. They are always running about; and when they feel a check from the cord they are tied with, they rear upon their hinder legs, in the fame manner with the oldest ones, and return. They eat any thing given to them, and suck your hand, if you hold it out, very inosfensively.

I have got a-talking about wild animals. Let me entertain you with an account of others not quite fo wild. It is of a Finland bride and bridegroom. The bridegroom is a young fellow of feventeen. He has been in love these six months. Don't blame the poor girl; she too has been dying of love. They are both clothed in sheepskins; but this is nothing to the purpose. Well then, they had no money; and the bridegroom told me, with tears in his eyes, that the wedding expences would amount to ten roubles, or thirty shillings, in falt, black bread, butter, oil, garlic, and brandy!

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The money was at last provided: the wedding-day fixed; and the gentleman who does me the honour to be my footman, cook and butler, gave me notice, that his fervices must be dispensed with for a day. This is the very day of their nuptials. The Finland maidens are all dreffed to the best in russet and ribbons. The lasses think of what they must all come to, and smile, and sing, and sigh. It is Sunday. The wedding folks drove past my windows in fledges to church, and returned in the evening, finging in full chorus. The female charioteers beat time with their whips. The bride and bridegroom alone, look as if they were afraid of each other.

The peafants, Russians and Finlanders, for the most part, marry in their own villages. Their affections seldom wander to the neighbouring villages; but they are no way restricted in their choice: only the woman must be a slave to the same lord with her husband. The female thus changes her master and place; the males never can. The Finlanders

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den, and hence we find two British furnames among the higher ranks of the Swedes.

The Russian and Swedish armies opposed to each other at this moment are both of them commanded by officers descended of British parents. Count Hamilton commands the Swedes, and General Mitchelson the active part of the Russian troops. Numbers of other Britons, chiefly Scots, are found ranged upon each side, and discharging their muskets in each other's faces! It appears that the Swiss are not the only people who let out their blood to hire.

Both Swedes and Ruffians call us intruders, and fay that they would be much obliged to us to permit them to defend their own country. The Ruffians certainly need us in their navy. Their naval officers have courage, but they have few opportunities of practifing their profession. The Baltic is little better than a fish-pond for the exercising of sleets, and the northern navies have no business in the Atlantic and Pacific. The Ruffians, indeed, sometimes pay

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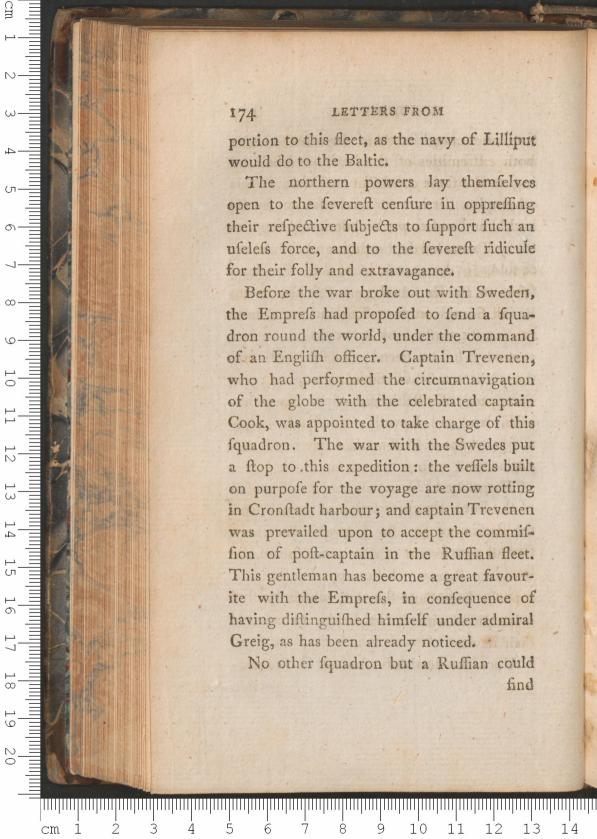
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burgh is an Englishman of the name of Coleman. It is wonderful what fine veffels he makes from the poorest materials. If this empire furnishes no timber fit for constructing the hulls of ships, it abundantly supplies the best materials for rigging, and all manner of stores, in hemp, tar, iron, &c. England fends to Russia for rigging for her navy; Ruffia should fend to England for a navy to her rigging; and it would be the best economy. The naval establishments cost the empire a confiderable part of its revenues, and fifty thousand of its brave subjects, who are annually facrificed in hospitals upon the most wretched system of management.

The navy of Denmark confists of 30 sail of the line; that of Sweden of 30 sail, and the Russian of 40 sail. The whole northern sleet of course amounts to 100 ships of the line.

Such a fleet could with difficulty find room to engage in the Baltic, to contend for the dominion of which they are fitted out. The Baltic does not bear fuch a proportion



find anchorage in their own harbours at both extremities of the earth, and belonging to the same continent and uninterrupted empire. It is wonderful that an inland and almost unknown kingdom, tributary to every Tartar horde, bordering upon no fea, should, in the course of one hundred and fifty or two hundred years, fwell out upon all fides, conquer all nations, and have her coasts washed by every sea, and every ocean! The northern ocean rolls his waves upon the coasts of Siberia, Lapland, and Samoyeda; the Baltic fea, upon the shores of Finland and Livonia; the Black fea and Caspian, upon Russian Tartary: and the Indian and eastern oceans upon the shores of Kamtschatka.

But with all these seas and oceans Rusfia has no occasion for so large a sleet. In all this vast extent of dominion, she has no maritime state worth her apprehension, except the Danes and Swedes, whose interest it is equally with hers to make a bonsire of their navies.

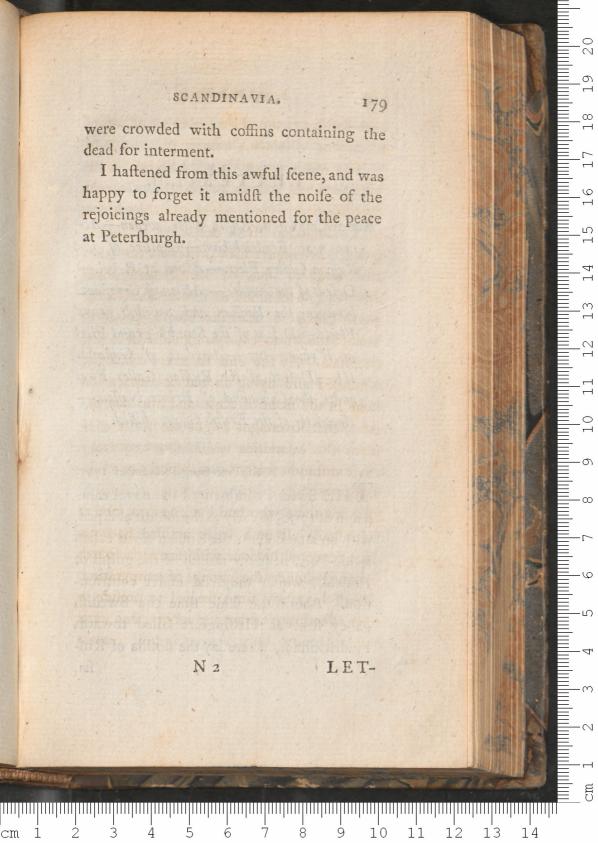
Upon the death of admiral Greig, cap-

losing a new vessel among the rocks of the gulph of Finland.

The Russian rear-admiral Powaliskin, with captains Trevenen, Thesiger, and two other Russian captains, were stationed in the channel through which the Swedish sleet were to attempt to escape from Wyburg Bay. These ships received the whole sire of the Swedish sleet. Captain Trevenen was wounded by a cannon-ball, which took away a great part of his hip; and, notwithstanding every thing was done to save the life of this valuable officer and worthy man, by his very skilful surgeon Mr. Macdougal, a mortification ensued, and he expired a few days after that victory, which ruined the Swedish King in the loss of his sleet.

The fame ball which carried with it the fate of the gallant Trevenen, broke the leg of his first lieutenant Mr. Atkin, and shot a third officer through the body, lodging finally in the opposite side of the ship. It is remarkable that captain Trevenen's widow ordered the ball to be brought to her;

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sia, but in no condition to receive an enemy. The Swedish admiral, notwithstanding so fair an opportunity offered to make an easy prey of the Russians, delayed the attack for two days.

During this time the Ruffians added feyeral more galleys, which were unrigged at the arrival of the Swedes, to their fleet. The Swedes, after an obstinate engagement, took every veffel opposed to them, being much superior in number and force. Had the Swedes commenced the attack instantly upon their arrival, it is uncertain but the fortress of Fredricksham would have fallen into their hands. This unpardonable neglect gave time to receive a reinforcement of troops into the garrison; and the beliegers, as if determined to prove their folly, made an attack upon the town with only a small part of their fleet. Their ships and men were nearly destroyed.

The capture of the Russian galleys was a heavy blow. The news of it, however, only excited the greater activity in the Russians. The Empress gave orders that an-

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other fleet should be built and ready for sea in a few weeks! The mallet resounded upon the banks of the Neva and at Cronstadt, and this new fleet of small armed ships and gun-boats was actually ready in a few weeks.

The Swedes had formed the best plan possible for annihilating the Russian navy, and must have nearly, or altogether, succeeded; but owing to some infatuation and irresolution, or perhaps disaffection of many of their officers, they totally failed of success. The attack upon Baltic-Port was not followed so soon as it ought to have been by another upon Revel. In this instance again they gave the Russians notice to prepare themselves; and every expedition was used to sit out the Russian squadron lying at Revel, and consisting only of tensail of the line, and three or four frigates.

The harbours of Cronstadt and Revel cannot, separately, contain the whole of the Russian navy; and as the latter harbour is seldom frozen up, the Swedes could, either in March or April, have attacked the squadron

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followed and joined by eleven light frigates and armed ships, commanded by an Irish officer, captain Dennison.

The Russian fleet lay at anchor, after leaving Cronstadt, off Crassna Gorca, a point of land feveral leagues diftant from Cronstadt, in an irregular line of battle. Next day after the junction between the grand fleet and the frigates, the Swedish fleet was discovered to windward, bearing down, fayoured by a westerly wind, in a line of battle, consisting of twenty-three fail of the line and thirteen frigates. The Ruffian admiral directly threw out the fignal to form the line. Both fleets continued under fail all that night, without coming to action, and were in the same position to each other in the morning. The weather was hazy: the wind shifted to the eastward, and the Russian fleet bore down upon the Swedes, engaging with feventeen ships a line of battle opposed to them of thirty-fix fail; the whole of the Swedish frigates having formed the line with the greater ships. Both fleets were upon the fame courfe, on the starboard tack.

Captain

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Captain Dennison remained with the squadron of frigates in referve, and watching the motions of the Swedish galley fleet, which hovered about at no great distance. Anxious to diffinguish himself, and having discretionary power to act as he faw best, he determined to bear down upon the centre of the Swedish fleet, and to engage them. At this moment he observed the Swedish van attempting to double upon the Ruffian line of battle. This officer instantly bore down upon the van of the enemy; and, though supported by only two of his frigates, the others not coming to close action, he fucceeded in preventing the intended manœuvre of the Swedes. The whole of the Swedish sleet bore away about fix o'clock in the morning, after a harmless fight of two hours continuance.

In the afternoon of the same day, the wind again changed to the west. The Swedish fleet bore down again in a line of battle abreast upon their enemies, who waited for them in a line of battle ahead. This engagement lasted four hours. The Russian frigates

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Admiral Kruse then followed the enemy, but first got fight of the other division of the Ruffian fleet under the Sifcar Islands. The Venus frigate, captain Dennison, the same day made the fignal for feeing the Swedish fleet steering towards Wyburg Bay, which lies to the westward of the Siscar Islands, and confequently they were past and clear of the Russian united fleet, and might have proceeded in safety to their own harbour of Sweaborg. The Ruffian fleet being at the fame time under fail, purfued the enemy, and foon arrived off the bay where the Swedes had taken refuge. The Swedish fleet were feen lying at anchor in a line of battle. Two narrow channels led into this bay, which were guarded by feveral large thips.

The Ruffian fleet kept under way that night; and next day captain Dennison was ordered with his frigates into the outward bay to found; and finding the roadstead safe for the largest fleet, the whole came to an anchor, immediately without the Swedish fleet, and nearly within gun-shot of each other,

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other. Some banks and rocks feparated them. Two line-of-battle ships with the squadron of frigates were stationed to guard the channels, where the Swedish guard-ships lay.

The duke of Sudermania had feen the Revel division as he failed from Cronstadt. and had determined to engage it. Swedish fleet were seen by several English merchant ships, making towards the Revel fquadron, and even using oars, and having boats a-head of every ship towing them nearer their enemies. The Swedish officers and crews were in the highest spirits, and the air rung with their shouts. The common failors and foldiers of the Swedes were enthusiastically fond of a sovereign who accompanied them in all their dangers; and they frequently declared they would follow wherever he led. He led them to destruction. Gustavus, endowed with the most heroic courage, did not possess with this the qualities requifite in a great commander. Fearing nothing, he gave his orders precipitately, without looking forward to the consequences.

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with no large quantity of powder and ball, King Gustavus ordered his navy into an enemy's harbour, surrounded by an enemy's country and superior sleet! Yet from all these difficulties, amidst all these dangers, he might have escaped, had not some unfortunate accidents occurred.

The whole Swedish naval force were at this moment furrounded by the navy of Ruffia. The existence of Sweden as a naval power was to be decided in a few days, and hung upon the cast of a die! Admiral Tchitchigow dispatched a courier to Her Imperial Majesty, then at Zarsko Zelo, with news of this critical fituation of the enemy. Catharine, agitated with hope and fear for the event, observed upon the uncertainty of fate. The courier, a young English lieutenant, forgetting the august presence he was in, exclaimed, By God! we have them, Madam! not a ship can escape us! Her Majesty smiled, and thanked him for his good wishes for the success of her arms.

The flotilla commanded by the Prince Nassau was not yet ready. A part of this

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want of food. The King at last saw his error, but not until the arrival of Prince Nassau with the Russian stotilla, which added another dissiculty to his escape, and at a time too when his seamen and soldiers were disheartened by famine, and missortune of all sorts.

The Ruffian galley-fleet were joined upontheir arrival by captain Dennison's squadron of frigates, and an attack was meditated upon the Swedish slotilla lying at Biorka found. This last confisted of about fixty fail, mostly gun-boats. The gun-boats are small open vessels, carrying one piece of cannon in their bows, and another in their stern. The attack of the Russians commenced in the night, two days after the arrival of their galleys. The Prince had perhaps suspected an attempt of the Swedes to retreat that night, and wished to come to blows before they got away; or otherwise the attack was ill advised, seeing the frigates in the dark would not venture, near the shore and among rocks, to support the gun-boats.

This fight was nothing more than a firing vol. 11. O at

ran, was guarded by feveral Russian light frigates. This retreat was however well conducted; and, although several gun-boats were taken, the greater part effected their escape to Fredricksham, after being pursued by the Russians as far as Hogland.

The Swedish gun-boats were manned with failors, and were an overmatch for the awkward Russian peasants who rowed in pursuit of them.

The Swedish transports were less successful in their retreat. Sailing too near the shore to avoid the shot of the gun-boats and frigates, many of them got aground, and several threw the horses of the dragoons overboard in vain, to lighten the barks, and to get off again. The most of the transports, their cargoes, their crews, and the soldiers, fell an easy prey to the Russians. Gustavus from the deck of his yacht, in which he accompanied the galley-sleet, saw the missortunes of his navy and other vessels, without being able to relieve them. This royal hero, retreating in a small yacht, had several of his subjects killed by

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The smoke of the late engagement, rendered more thick by this explosion, was carried by the winds, and involved five or fix of the Swedish fleet, then directly a-head of the wreck. The consequence was their

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running aground. Another had got ashore near the Swedish guard-ships, prior to the accident; and after she had passed them. Thus eight or nine fail of the line had only to be picked up by the Ruffians. Captain Dennison took possession of the first veffel, which got aground as she lay at anchor, or foon after she had cut in Wyburg bay. I had frequent conversations with the captain of this ship, whose name is Trutiger. He gave me a plan of the fituation of both fleets. Though he rejoiced at the escape of a considerable part of the Swedish fleet, he confessed, that, had the Russian admiral made a better disposition of his fleet, not a ship of his nation could have escaped: and the disposition was, simply, to have croffed the channel with two or three lines of guard-ships, with springs upon their cables, every one of which lines, fo advantageously stationed, must have so disabled the Swedish fleet in passing, as to have rendered them incapable of refishing the remainder of the Russian navy, and which ought to have been waiting at the mouth of the channel

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channel to receive the enemy as they attempted to fly. Instead of such a judicious plan, only five ships were opposed to twenty-two or twenty three of equal force with themselves; and the Russian fleet in the outward bay of Wyburg had not cut or flipped their cables, even when the remaining fifteen ships of the Swedes had passed the line of guard-ships.

The fecond man of war which grounded after passing the Russian guard-ships still continued firing at the enemy, until all the other thips of the Swedish navy had got clear; when she struck her colours. The Swedish officers of the vessels which ran ashore complained, in some conversations I had with them, that the Russians continued firing into them, even when they lay aground and their colours struck. This must have been owing to the confusion, and from their being indistinctly seen through the smoke.

The fecond Swedish ship that went ashore, was lost to the Russians through fome milmanagement. She lay upon the edge of a bank; and in the attempt to get 04

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The Swedish slotilla lying near Fredricksham and the mouth of the river Thymen was followed, so soon as Prince Nassau had repaired the damages of his vessels, by the Russian light frigates, galleys and gunboats.

The Ruffian flotilla lay at anchor at no great distance from the Swedes, whose galley-fleet lay behind two islands; the main channel between the islands, and narrower ones upon the opposite sides, being defended by chains of gun-boats and by several batteries.

The Russian sleet was much superior in force; and the signal for attack being given by Prince Nassau from his frigate the Catharine, about eight o'clock in the morning of the 28th of June, the whole proceeded with alacrity to battle, the wind blowing them down directly upon the enemy. The Swedish first line of battle consisted of four frigates and three xebecs. Their gun-boats were ranged behind, and upon the right and left, besides those which guarded the

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attempting to second their brave countrymen, who, while each ship had another of equal force to contend with of the Swedes, were besides raked in all directions by surrounding gun-boats.

Many of the Russian galleys and gunboats were wrecked upon the shore adjoining to the narrow channels to which they had gone to the attack of the enemy's gunboats, or driven through by the wind, or lost by the awkwardness of the crews. Several of the crews from the wrecked gunboats and galleys, getting ashore upon the islands with what brandy they had saved with themselves, employed their time in drinking and singing while the battle was raging in other quarters.

The Russian frigates and xebecs maintained the most bloody and obstinate engagement upon record. Captain Dennison repeatedly sent an officer to Prince Nassau, to inform him of the certain consequences of the action against the Russian arms, if the galleys and gun-boats did not come down

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to support this squadron. About one o'clock captain Dennison was struck by a grape-shot in the head, and mortally wounded. The command of the ship devolved upon the first lieutenant, Mr. M'Carthy, who, assisted by the Russian colonel Tchetcherin in conducting this bloody stuggle, fought the frigate, until they were under the necessity, to prevent her sinking, to run her ashore. They were attacked on every side by gun-boats, and sustained for several hours the fire of two and three of the Swedish frigates, after these had succeeded in defeating, by means of the numerous gun-boats, the other Russian ships and xebecs.

Captain Perry yielded after an obstinate engagement. Captain Young fought his frigate, until his crew wifely refused to obey, and to throw away their lives, without the smallest hopes of success. The crew ran their ship on shore, and were taken prisoners.

Captain Marshall, keeping up a fire which astonished the Swedes, fought whilst his

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ship was a wreck, and hardly able to support her cannon: even when the main deck was under water, and the frigate lying upon a bank, which alone prevented her from finking, the gallant Marshall thundered in broadfides against the enemy. He was wounded in the thighs and in the knee, around which he had wrapped the ship's enfign. He stood upon the quarter deck, leaning upon the arm of his lieutenant. While all hopes of victory were over, and not a gun above water, the ship ready to go to pieces with every wave, a shot cut him in two, and he fell upon the deck, covered with the fea which broke over it. The colours still remained slying. The Russian priest called together the few left of the thip's company: he comforted them under their distress, and held the cross to them all, which they devoutly kissed. The ship separated, the priest held up the cross, kissed it, and went to the bottom, clasping it in his hands. Several of the crew hung upon pieces of the wreck, and even in this fituation

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tion fome were killed by the enemy's fhot, but which was not directed at them.

One boat, the only one which remained with captain Dennison's frigate, was dispatched to the relief of these heroes. Eight men and two officers were picked up. They were faved from one kind of death to meet another; and on coming on board the frigate, now fighting almost fingly against the Swedish fleet, they were placed at the guns, and bore their part in a battle of some hours. The Maria, at last, nearly in the same situation with the late captain Marshall's ship, was run on shore about half past nine in the evening; the officers and men having supported, with unparalleled bravery, an unequal contest from nine or ten o'clock in the morning. The three xebecs had been taken before this; the bravery of the Russian officers who commanded them would have yielded only to fuch fuperior force. Home to have and the base to

Prince Nassau, seeing the battle at an end, is said to have hid his face with his cloak. The galleys and gun-boats had by this time entirely

entirely gone away; nor did the Swedes attempt to pursue the greater number of enemies who ran from them.

Thus ended the naval campaign in the Baltic. Prince Nassau meant again to attack the Swedes, and had been joined by some frigates for the purpose. A courier arrived at the galley-fleet with the news of the peace, and prevented his intention being put into execution.

The Swedes took about 2000 prisoners of the Russians in the late battle, from the frigates captured, and from the galleys and gun-boats run on shore. Prince Nassau is a very unfortunate, as he is a very brave officer. Admiral Tchitchigow is attended by the Goddess of Fortune for his pilot: he, too, is a brave and gallant officer; the opinions with regard to his skill are various.

The Russians by this successful campaign have established a paramount power over the Baltic. The Swedes cannot again raise their heads for a century. It would be in vain for them to build ships of the line

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remains not a doubt but that the king of Sweden would have gladly embraced any reafonable terms of accommodation with Ruffia, in the end of the year 1788, and that the Turks would, with equal willingness, have accepted the terms of peace which Russia offered in 1789, soon after the taking of Oczakow. Nay, the King of Sweden and the Grand Sultan, as well as the Empress, actually made advances at those periods to this end; and as Russia has not varied from her first offer to her enemies, it is plain who were to blame in preventing a treaty of negotiation.

In confidering this fubject, and to escape the ridicule of politicians, it is necessary to omit any reasoning or argument which the cause of humanity might suggest. I must only consider what increase of commerce did Britain purpose to herself, and what additional territory did Prussia, by somenting this war?

From what I have already stated in my former letters, it will appear, to every P2 impartial

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the armed neutrality. Was it not most satisfactory to the offended dignity of Britain, that Russia, sensible of her late error, should come forward to meet her upon former friendly terms? Or was our nation to be better satisfied, if Russia humbled herfelf to a degree of meanness, by disavowing her public acts? Was it inconsistent with our dignity to accept of some apology consistent with the dignity of Russia, an empire esteeming itself as great, and equally jealous of its dignity, as Britain?

Perhaps we did right, notwithstanding the friendly disposition of Russia, to convince her, by some step becoming our dignity, how dangerous it was, as well for her glory as for her interest, to offend us. Our ministers, in refusing every aid to Russia which she had been accustomed to receive from us, did nobly; and to this step, as much as to the unfortunate campaign of Joseph II. may be attributed the desire of Russia and Austria for peace in the summer of 1789. Since that time, Russia had made friendly overtures to Britain, and Britain had besides

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retaliated upon her fufficiently. What more was requifite to be done in vindication of our honour? To profecute Ruffia any further was a pursuit of foolish vengeance, and injurious to the interests of our commerce. Allowing that another nation could be found, of equal extent, and producing the same commodities as Russia, and in every circumflance equally advantageous to our trade; yet to throw off our connection with Ruffia, or to pick quarrels with her, would be improper: and, however wife it may be for us to encourage an intercourse with other countries producing the fame articles, in whatever quantity, in order to keep ourfelves as independent of Ruffia as we can; it is certainly madness to irritate the Rusfians, and to poison one of the chief springs of ou commerce.

It is true that Ruffia depends as much upon our demand, as we do upon her produce; but this is no argument why we should be at variance. I think it rather argues that we should be friends. It will be difficult to find another nation possessing the same natural

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natural advantages to our commerce as Ruffia. Our ministers are endeavouring to place Poland in competition with Ruffia. The scheme is a good one; but are they aware that their other scheme of getting Dantzic for Prussia will knock the first plan on the head? If ministers could effect a revolution in Pruffia, and give her a constitution, modelled after our own, Dantzie would flourish under the Prussian, or any government if it is a free one. If Pruffia understood her own interests she would be contented with her prefent advantages, and reap a greater revenue than she now does, by lowering the duties she puts upon the trade of Poland paffing to Dantzic. Dantzic must be fet at liberty, and relieved from the grievous infulting burthens upon foreigners trading with this mart, as well as upon the Dantzickers themselves. It may be urged, Why might not Dantzic flourish under the Pruffian, as well as Petersburgh under the Ruffian government? The answer is fimple: The Russian monarchs have been as distinguished for their encouragement, their Arict observance of commercial laws, their

favour

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favour and patronage to trade and traders, as the Prussian kings have been for a conduct the reverse. The Russian government has established its credit with the whole mercantile world, by its invariable adherence to justice and equity in all commercial laws and regulations. Frederick the Great was an Arabian shiek, who, at the head of a banditti, plundered the Polish caravans in their way to Dantzic and other ports .-Should Poland obtain a regular and free government, by the only method thefe can be obtained, under an hereditary line of fovereigns, her agriculture will prosper; and Prussia has but to lessen her impositions upon Polish produce, and to withdraw altogether her claims to Dantzic, in order to give foreigners greater confidence than they now have in trufting their property there, and to derive every benefit which she has any right to expect from the produce of countries, and from the trade of a city not her own.

Britain, should Prussia listen to reason, will find a greater quantity of naval stores than formerly at the ports of Dantzic, Elbing,

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bing, Koningsberg, and Memel. Nor can Russia be hurt by this increased rivalship: it will in the end serve her, by creating a fresh spirit of industry. Poland can never produce one tenth part of the naval stores needed by the powers of Europe, nor in such variety as Russia. Russia must, besides, always undersell Poland in the prices of her commodities, as these have not to pass through Prussia in their way to Petersburgh, Riga, and Wyburg.

I was always at a loss to conceive what the warlike preparations of Great Britain and Prussia meant; and inclined to think that they had a reference, ultimately, not to Turkey, but Poland. Her Imperial Majesty had facrificed every thing to obtain a peace, notwithstanding she was the victor, and Turkey lying at her feet. Prussia, depending much upon Poland, no doubt wished to separate her from Russian influence; and perhaps, by countenancing a revolution, or at least by joining that party inimical to the Court of Petersburgh, she expected a return of favour in having Dantzic ceded to her. Russia has

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60,000 land forces, lately engaged in the Swedish war, at liberty to act in any quarter: Prussia diverted her attention from Poland, where such a formidable army might counteract the intended revolution, and frowned upon Livonia with a superior body of troops; and Britain, effectually to tie up the hands of Russia, prepared a fleet.

It is idle to pretend that thefe armaments were intended to oblige Ruffia to give up Oczakow, and to prevent her from having the command of the Nieper, without supposing that both the cabinets of Berlin and London are totally ignorant of their respective interests. Would the Court of Berlin contend that the navigation of the Niester be free to Poland, to facilitate the exportation of Polish produce by other channels than through the Prussian rivers? Would the Court of London endeavour to have naval stores brought to the Black sea, rather than to Dantzic and Memel, for exportation in British vessels? What advantage could be derived from having to bring naval stores from a greater distance than at present? Nor is it possible that our Court can be fo defective

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defective in political knowledge, as to have the least objections to the Russians having the free navigation, or even the command of the Nieper. Four Russian ports in the Baltic are traded to by one thousand fail of British vessels, which make upon an average two voyages in the year. Ten thoufand British seamen are employed on board these vessels. Now what harm is to be apprehended from Russia, were she to open one hundred ports upon the Black fea, and give employment thereby to fome thoufands more of British ships and seamen? But, fays the fagacious politician, Ruffia might learn to have shipping of her own, and rival ours. Grant that this confequence was to follow (and it cannot happen until Russia greatly increases in population and agriculture), yet Russia, without the art of magic, could not rival us fo far as to divide the freightage of their own trade in respect of shipping in less than one or two hundred years; and at this period, upon the natural idea that commerce will increase with population and agriculture, we shall

number of lives in its progress and continuance, is a doubtful question. All kingdoms and empires, equally ambitious, complain of each other's ambition. The powers inimical to Austria and Russia fomented the Turkish war, and encouraged Sweden to affist the Turks in order to render the contest more bloody, and thereby more diffreffing to the two Imperial ambitious Courts. While this political process was going on, Poland offered a convenient field to complete the scheme of humbling those mighty potentates. The peace with Sweden rendered an armament necessary, and to have a guard at that post which Gustavus had deserted. Thus it is plain that a contest for political influence in Europe was the cause of the war with Turkey, and of the armaments of Britain and Prussia; not to obtain additional increase of commerce, or of wealth. When are these contests to end? When is the balance of power to be established? Mankind are butchered one year to obtain peace for the fucceeding year. They are again called forth to be flaughtered upon account of fome

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him; and that the body of the people may not have it in their power to act capriciously, a representative shall continue to act for a certain time. To save the trouble of electing representatives whom the people approve of, every member of national asfemblies or parliament should continue to act, until the people who have elected him declare their wish for his resignation at the conclusion of that fixed period.

To recur to our disputes with Russia: the ingratitude of that Court has been mentioned as an excuse for our taking a fide against her. Were our ministers serious? I am at a loss to guess what is meant by the gratitude of nations. Is gratitude a word to be found in political dictionaries? Is there a court, is there a minister existing who is not grateful, or ungrateful, as it may best suit their present purposes of interest, or of ambition? Nothing but mutual affiftance and advantages ever did, or ever will unite nations. Does not our minister in that political fystem, of which he is the fun, find a proportionate degree of returns of fenators.

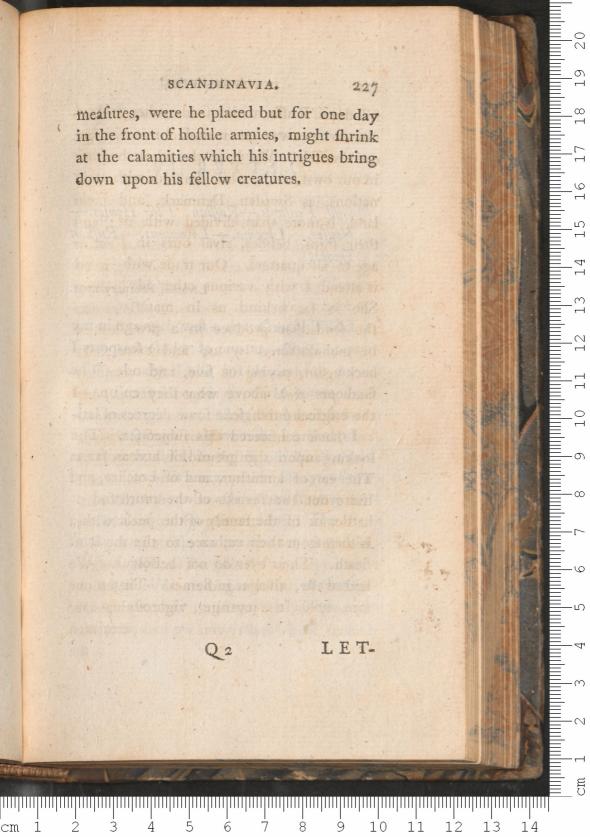
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Russia has laid additional duties upon exports to support the war, and which will remain to pay the debts contracted by the war, long after it has ceased: and as these duties are principally paid by British importers, we shall actually be obliged to pay to Ruffia a confiderable share of her war expences. Besides, the greater the losses that Russia sustains by war, the fewer hands will remain for the purpoles of agriculture; the quantities of her commodities at market will be leffened, and the prices increased. If ministers cannot point out another country from which we can be supplied at the old or easier terms, at least until Russia has recovered from her distresses, was it not imprudent in our ministers to have been acceffary to them ?

Ruffia is the only country at this moment in the world that can supply us with the quantity which we want of naval stores, and no other can supply us, even with the smallest quantities, upon the same beneficial terms which Ruffia has always done, and vol. II. Q still

still does. Russia neither sends us her produce nor carries away our manufactures with her own vessels. We have the whole business in our own hands, while the trade with other nations, as Sweden, Denmark, and Holland, is more than divided with us; and their ships, besides, rival ours in freightage to all quarters. Our trade with Russia is attended with various other advantages. She is far behind us in manufactures: she sends her produce in a raw state to be manufactured by us, and takes them back again, paying us sive, and one thousand per cent. above what they cost us in the original purchase.

I have considered this subject, without looking upon the ground of humanity.—
The ear of ambition, and of cruel policy, hears not the shrieks of the murdered in battle, or of the family of the peasant who is torn from their embrace to the work of death. Their eyes do not behold harvests laid waste, villages in slames. That minister, bold in language, vigorous in his measures,



the best part of it by two o'clock the enfuing morning. I had not an opportunity before to observe the early industry of the Finlanders. They were at this time coming out of their huts, and through their fmall windows we could perceive the females at work, to which they were lighted by a piece of burning timber stuck in the wall. This is a common, yet very dangerous practice in those countries, where the houses are all of timber. Candles are never used by the peafantry, unless upon extraordinary occasions. The faithful dog is the household god of the peasants in all countries: we hear his bark as we approach the villages, giving warning, to his mafter, of vagrant travellers. We enter the posthouses as we arrive, and are always ushered into the warm room prepared for travellers at the expence of government. The night was very cold, and the major treated me with a glass of brandy and a bit of brown bread from his stores. Every traveller carries his provisions along with him, from the prince in gold lace to the boor in straw fhoes.

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lop, made the woods echo with his fongs. In journeying through Esthonia, the eye is agreeably relieved with alternate landscapes of cultivation and farm-houses, of woodlands and rivers. But the country is generally level. A dead silence reigns: no roaring cataract from a mountain's brow: the water sleeps in its even channel. This province has evidently been gained from the sea. The land seems deserving of more careful husbandmen. Rural cultivators wholly neglect the formation of inclosures, which might be made of the stones that incumber the ground.

At day-break we arrived at Yamburgh, and, paffing the river still sirmly frozen, soon reached the post-house in the suburbs of Narva. Here we had our coffee, and my companion left me, to pursue a different route from mine. Our acquaintance had only commenced the day preceding, yet I felt myself melancholy upon his departure. He was cheerful and polite, and anxious to be serviceable to me though a foreigner. In the post-house was another young officer,

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who, understanding that I was going towards Riga, asked me to take a feat in his fledge a part of the way. This gentleman presented a different character. He at once betrayed a mean disposition. Said he, "The fledge being mine, it is proper that you pay for two horses, I shall pay for the other." The captain, to give me a high idea of his power, told me that he would conduct me through Narva without being under the necessity of shewing my passport. He was one of the officers of the garrison. The fentinel at the guard-house, as usual, demanded passports—the captain fent his name to the officer upon guard, and we were allowed to proceed. This shews how matters may be done even in the midst of an hostile garrifon in time of war, if one officer is not faithful to his trust. But I believe the captain would not have ventured to have conducted me, had he not feen my passport.-Vanity, not treachery, was the motive of his conduct. From Narva to Riga, the road leads by the lake Pypus and the city of Dorpat in the province of Livonia. The first day's journey from

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Kiga

Riga presented a flat country, partly cleared and partly covered with forests; the whole as yet powdered with snow. Now begin the German post-houses, or post-houses kept by Germans, where one generally finds at twelve o'clock at noon the family at dinner, and where I as generally sit down and partake. My fellow-traveller, the captain, with his sledge and servant, went on a post farther.

A German post-house and the family within are curiofities. All buildings of German construction are made as nearly fquare as possible, no doubt to render the fabric more durable. The outfide is fimply plastered, without further ornament. rooms at first fight announce, as it were, their alliance to the house, and are all square. The floors are covered with fand and fir-leaves, which, being fwept every morning, and a fresh supply of fand and fir-leaves being strewed, serves instead of washing the flooran operation never performed. The stove is built of brick, and elegantly covered with black tyles. The figure of it is fquare. The windows too are fguare, and the win-

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dow frames, by their great breadth, ingeniously contrived to save the expence of glass,
though they may prevent the ingress of
light. The post-master is dressed, as all
Germans are when at home, in his gown,
night-cap and slippers: a little dog plays at
his foot, and a long pipe depends from his
mouth. His wife and daughters are dressed in cloth gowns and petticoats, which,
like the sloor-dressing, save the expence of
washing, and the trouble of cleanliness.
Were they dressed in gauze, it would be
better adapted to the hot air in which they
breathe.

At this post-house, where I staid all night, early in the morning, I was awaked by a company of travellers. They consisted of a Cossac colonel, his lady, family, and retinue. I dressed myself, and entered the travellers' room, where they were at breakfast. The colonel's eldest boy asked me where I had come from, where I was going, what was my profession—Was I in the Russian fervice—was I a German, or a Frenchman, or a Russian?—He had never heard any thing

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of England. The colonel smiled, nor did he check the sprightliness of his child. The Cossacs speak a language differing very little from the Russian—You know they were originally from Poland.

The post-houses provide travellers with carriages to the next post-house. I again proceeded forward upon my journey. The lake Pypus foon appeared before me, a frozen plain of ice. I was carried in the sledge, across a part of this inland sea; and arriving at Nennal post-house, I found my companion the captain, who to the trade of war adds the more lucrative one of brandy-merchant. He has a confiderable estate in Livonia, and has a quantity of liquors, manufactured from the grain of his farms, just landed at Nennal, brought hither in sledges, upon the way to Narva, and no doubt to Revel and Petersburgh. I took a second farewell of my economical, industrious foldier and brandy-merchant. The Ruffian army of feventy thousand men are just now quartered in Livonia; were a small party detached to Nennal, they might carry

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away a comfortable draught for the whole of the troops. I again purfue my journey upon the lake Pypus. It begins to burst its icy chains. There are cracks in many places. A vast number of sledges pass me, loaded with hay, provisions, and other commodities.

Surrounded by an icy sea, frozen lands, and bleak skies, I feel hungry, and have untied my wallet, and drawn the cork from my bottle. I am eating a slice of cold ham, and drinking your health in rum. It is not the fashion in this country to adulterate liquors with water. At night I arrive at the city of Dorpat, very snugly situated in a ditch.

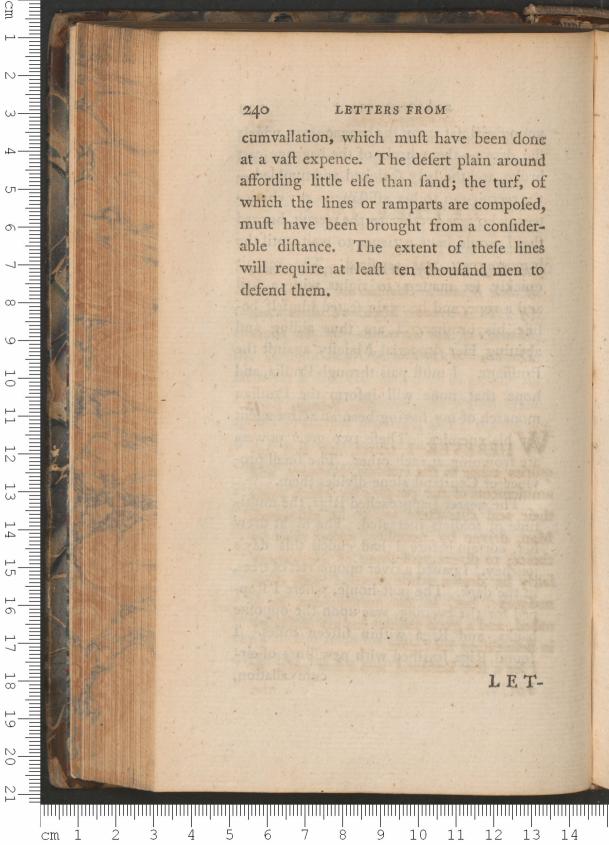
Dorpat is not far distant from the lake Pypus. I descended into a plain from a rifing ground near this city; from the plain I descended into the hollow cavity upon both sides of which Dorpat stands; and upon the other side the plain continues. Livonia is a flat country; yet the land prefents often a gently swelling surface, though it never rises into hills. The lake Pypus gives birth

looking harmless generation, and, I have learned, are much depressed by their lords, to whom they are no other than flaves. Livonia upon this fide Dorpat is less crowded with woods than it is adjoining to the lake Pypus. This part of the country however bears no marks either of that wonderful fertility or cultivation which are faid to prevail in the inland parts of it. The inclosures are few, and wretchedly executed; the farm-houses mean-looking, and the farm-yards ill stored with ricks of grain. As I drew near to Wolmar, the woods again spread over this province, and I remarked that the trees were of a larger fize as I increafed my distance from the pole. It furprifes me that the northern nations should have ever paid any worship to the fun, fince they derive so fmall benefit from this deity. At Wolmar, a fmall town, I found colonel Fanshaw's regiment in quarters. The roads are filled with troops, and every village is a camp. I had the honour to convey a recruit from his native hut to Wolmar -He had yet his native dress. His wife, a young

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voung girl, fat upon the baggage cart, which the drove—the wheels of the baggage cart broke, and the lady shrieked and tumbledthe recruit ran to her affistance-my charioteer, who was brother to the recruit, begged that I would have patience to wait until the baggage cart was repaired. The recruit quickly fet matters to rights with a nail and a rope, and he again feated himfelf befide his brother. I am thus aiding and abetting Her Imperial Majesty against the Pruffians. I must pass through Pruffia, and hope that none will inform the Prussian monarch of my having been an active agent for his enemies. These two great powers are frowning at each other. The small province of Courland alone divides them.

The nearer I approached Riga, the multitude of foldiers increased. The night drew her curtain before I had ended this day's journey. I passed a river upon a raft of trees, in the dark. The post-house, where I stopped for the evening, was upon the opposite banks, and Riga within sisteen miles. I found Riga fortisted with new lines of circumvallation,



## LETTER LVI.

Of the Russians.—Of the Germans, the Beauty of their Women.—Masquerade at Riga.—Of the German Music.—Customs and Manners of the Germans.—Of the River Dwina, and Harbour of Riga.

Riga, February 17912.

WHEREVER I travel, my first inquiries relate to the customs, manners, and amusements of the people; by which alone their real characters are to be estimated. Man, driven by necessity, rather than by choice, to divers professions of life, cannot fairly be drawn while covered with these masques: but, in his amusements, he is naked, and a good painter has no difficulty in delineating his figure.

I fee a few Ruffians, and a few only, in the

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cannot fup." To eat, is a principal part of a German as well as of an English entertainment. So this but cost me another dollar. My eagerness to see a polite assembly in this corner of the world brought me an hour too foon. This, however, gave me an opportunity of furveying the company as they entered—those who came to laugh, or to be laughed at. The great people, as usual, played at cards; and the jocund and gay danced, and went about distributing their jests among the fober dominos-nuns and wanton widows, old maids and coquettes, harlequins, Dutch skippers, and ballad fingers.—There goes a Polander, followed by a Pruffian, a Muscovite, and an Austrian, at all of whom he squints with a watchful eye. There is a fmart Ruffian girl, playing at hazard with a couple of Turks. There is one attempting to be a wit, and another to act the fool. Here is a fortuneteller; a young beau with a long beard-O fortunate puer! he has got hold of the hand of the prettiest girl in the assembly. I do not well understand German; he cer-R2 tainly

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and their number daily increases with Ruffians in search of commerce. It is the refort too, in winter, of the Livonian nobles and gentlemen; and at this season there is a very genteel and agreeable society. Count Vietinghoff has built a handsome theatre and assembly-rooms, at his own expence. He is the patron, too, of the rural arts, and has several farms for the improvement of agriculture. This nobleman is deservedly beloved by all, and in high estimation with her Imperial Majesty, in whose councils he holds an exalted rank.

Count Brown, an Irishman, governor general of Riga, Revel, and Narva, and of the provinces of Esthonia and Livonia, entered at a very early period into the Russian service, in which he has now turned grey. The count has undergone every hardship of war. Upwards of sifty years ago, in the war with Turkey, he was taken prisoner, and sold among the Turks for a slave. He was redeemed at the interference of the French Ambassador at the Ottoman court. Catharine II. at her accession

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cession to the throne, found many Britons in both her army and navy: she continued to them the favour and distinction which they had uniformly received from the reign of Alexis Michaelowitz, father of Peter the Great, and placed them in the most important stations. Russia, prior to the reign of Alexis, had little intercourse with the rest of Europe; indeed it was then almost entirely an Asiatic state. Novogorod, an inland city, and not far distant from Riga, upon the frontiers of the Muscovite empire, rose, from its peculiarly happy situation, and in spite of the ignorance of despotism, at an early period to be ranked among the Hanfe-towns. It was the medium, not only of the Russian, but of the Indian commerce. Its wealth and greatness were proverbial-" Nought can be greater than God and Novogorod!"

To this mart merchants came in crowds from every corner of Europe. The revolutions occasioned by the contests of the Russian Princes who disputed for empire, as well as the discovery of the passage to In-

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dia by the cape of Good Hope, overturned Novogorod; and the conquest of Carelia, Ingria, and Livonia, in the present century, by the Russians, completed its destruction, by affording more convenient commercial towns at the mouths of the Neva and the Dwina.

Archangel, lying upon the White Sea, had long before belonged to Russia. It was only a mean fishing village; and, hemmed in by the frozen North Sea, seemed to forbid every attempt to hold a commercial intercourfe with foreign nations. The Ruffians, without any knowledge of navigation, never thought of Archangel. In the reign of Elizabeth of England, and of John II. of Russia, a small squadron was fitted out by the English government, under the command of commodore Willoughby, to make discoveries to the north. The commodore's ship, with every person on board, perished in those inclement latitudes: one only of the fquadron, after combating with dreadful storms, was driven by chance into the bay of Archangel. The Russians confidered

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fidered these new comers as the natives of another world. Intelligence soon reached the Czar John, at Muscow, who gave orders to have the officers conveyed to him, that he might examine in person from what part of the earth or ocean they had come.

Captain Chancellor, the master, had with him the commission of his sovereign, written in different languages. The Czar was foon fatisfied; and, from conversations which passed between the Czar and the English, by the assistance of foreigners at Muscow, the idea of commencing a correspondence directly with England first struck the Russian nation. Archangel was yearly from this date frequented by English ships and merchants. John corresponded by letters with our fovereigns; and, anxious to encourage this first dawn of foreign trade, which had never before been carried on directly by the Ruffians, granted uncommon privileges to his new allies.

The foreign merchants or agents at Novogorod, which still kept up its head, jea-

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lous of this new channel of commerce, did every thing in their power to diffuade the Emperor from shewing such countenance to the English, without effect. Archangel increased in trade and wealth. The Ruffians, proud of this new opening, crowded to Archangel with their commodities; and the English chose to bring the Russian produce from this port, however dangerous the navigation, rather than fubmit to pay the higher prices put upon them by the factors at Novogorod, and other Hanfetowns, who monopolized the Russian as well as most other trades. Thus, the first dawn of our connection with Russia daily fpreading; both nations, fenfible of its importance, with equal alertness and willingness entered into treaties of friendship. England found in Russia a connection which rapidly bore her up to a superiority over the Hanse-towns, who were not only great in trade, but in naval power.-Ruffia afforded the most favourite articles to Britons—the materials for rendering their navy formidable to all the world. Alexis, the fuccesfor

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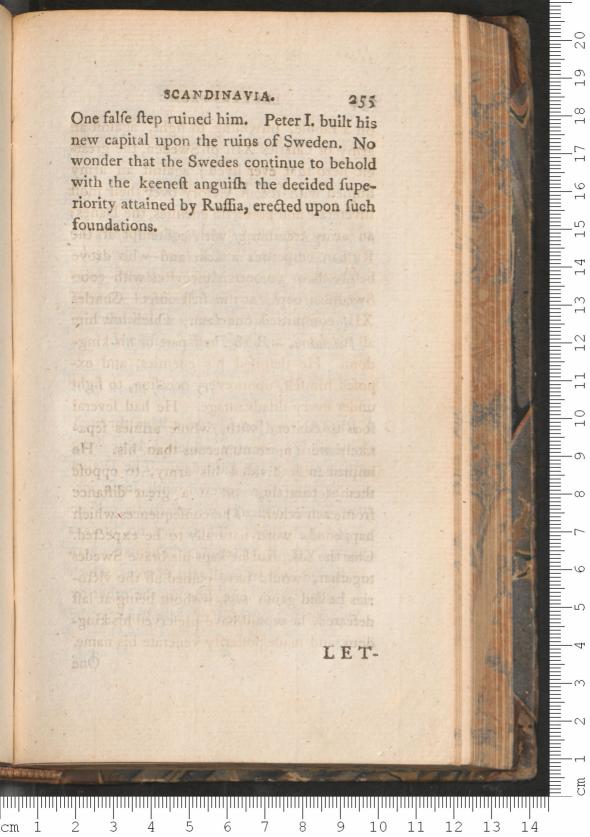
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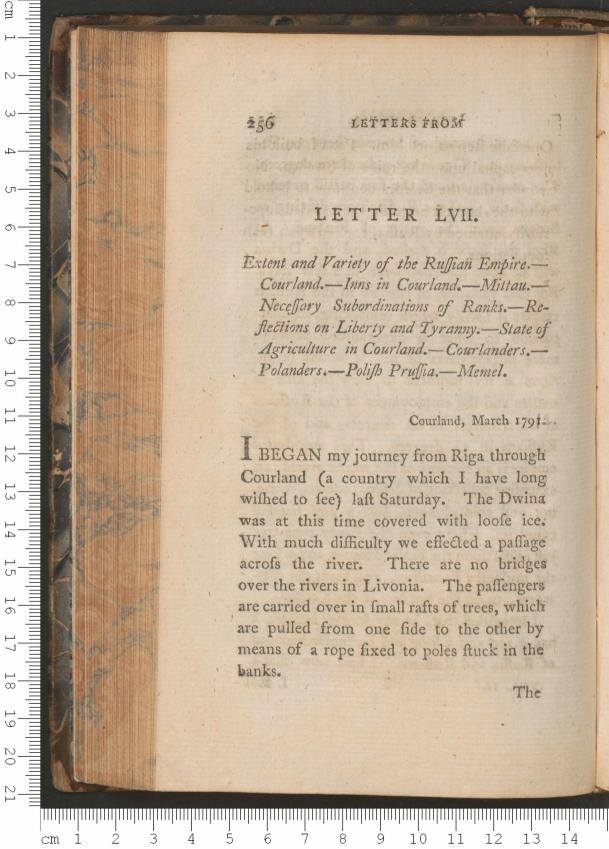
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whose safety the very existence of Sweden depended—could not be surmounted, even in idea, but by some persons who, sensible of the blessings of commerce and the happy situation of these countries, saw that every thing ought to be hazarded by Russia, in procuring what alone could render her a maritime and trading power. Russia had often before had these provinces lying at her mercy; but a want of this knowledge of commerce made her indifferent about the dominion over lands in no way so fruitful as the vast regions she already possessed.

Even Peter the Great had little know-ledge of those machines which make commerce move, and support it. He must have this matter clearly explained to him, before he ventured his life and his crown in so hazardous an undertaking, in which he had not only to conquer the regular forces of an ancient and brave nation with a mob of peasantry, but to conquer too a still more formidable barrier, the aversion of savage minds to civilization and trade. Peter led

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The difference of latitude between Petersburg and Riga is not quite three degrees. The country around the first is still covered with fnow, and the Russians are driving in fledges upon the gulph of Finland. At Riga the fnow is melted, and the Dwina will be open for commerce in a few days. But this variation of climate in the Ruffian empire is hardly worth remarking, in comparison to what is experienced between more distant parts of it. It would be curious at this moment to view the face of nature and the employment of the Ruffians at Petersburgh in 60 degrees, and of the Ruffians in 44 degrees. This wonderful empire is an epitome of the whole world; an extensive collection of deserts, oceans, rivers, hot and cold climates, barren and fruitful countries, where even the hardy pine-tree just exists upon the Finland shores, and where the mulberry flourishes, and feeds the filkworm, upon the borders of the Caspian.

I imagined that, in my former letters, I had given you a long and particular account of Russia and Russians. I find now that I you. II.

the face of nature; which alone can be obferved in fuch journies, unless the traveller
fojourns for months or years. My new
carriage is a Prussian waggon drawn by six
horses that would not disgrace the statecoach of an emperor. The communication is
yet open between Russia and Prussia, and
this waggon, with several others, had conveyed various commodities from Koningsberg to Riga.

The frontiers of Russia extend a few miles beyond the south banks of the Dwina, where we entered Courland. It was dark when the waggoner told me that the frontier-gate was at hand, and that I must come before the Russian officer to shew my passport. This I instantly complied with. The officer had a small house close to the gate, where stood a sentinel, and, no doubt, some military constables were at hand to ensorce obedience to the regulations prescribed to itinerants. The officer entered my name and passport in his book. He asked if I had any Russian money. I shewed him some Alberts-dollars. The carrying of Russian

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260 LETTERS FROM coin out of the empire is prohibited. Having fatisfied him that I had no rubles or copics in my purse, the gate was opened for me. It is a long pole thrown across the road. A wide-rolling ocean, or a chain of Alps and Apennines should divide kingdoms and empires. A pole of timber across a road is a poor barrier against the ambition of princes. We arrived at the first stage in Courland at a late hour. The waggoners do not stop at the post-houses. There are inferior public-houses for those who have not the honour to be drawn by post-horses. We entered, with the waggons and cattle, at the gavel of the house. A large gate admits not only human travellers, but their dapples and baggage, under a hospitable roof. One, half of the house is the stable; the other, divided from it by partitions, is the tavern. Here along room, with tables and forms of the fame length, accommodates the lower orders of the people. The humble pedestrian unties his wallet, and eats his black bread and falt; and making a bed of his baggage, if he has any, upon the floor, repofes himfelf for the night. 12 CM 10 11 13

night. He pays nothing for house-room; perhaps a glass of thick beer from the land-lord encroaches upon his purse one farthing. Not so the rich waggoner. The long table is loaded with smoking viands, opposite to the place where he is seated; the porkers bleed; and the company might be mistaken for Penelope's suitors.

Beyond the long-room is a smaller one furnished with tables, chairs and beds: but to this elegant place none except quality refort; that is, any person who has money to pay for, and is luxurious enough to require, a comfortable sleep. The landlady did me the honour to usher me into it. This room being seldom occupied is seldom heated. The landlady seemed to think that the distinguished honour of sleeping in it would compensate for the cold damp air which seized me at my entrance. I returned instinctively, and seated myself by the master waggoner; thus preserving heat and consequence together.

I again feat myfelf in my waggon, on a bundle of straw. The carriers display their S 3 whips;

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conveniency for an English smith's shop. The Duke of Courland resides at a palace in the country, no doubt in better repair.

I left Mittau in disgust. I expected to have feen fomething, and was disappointed. Notwithstanding the season of the year, this province every where shows marks of fertility and the highest cultivation. The fields are all furrounded by ditches, which both serve the purpose of a hedge, and are a necessary drain to so flat a soil. The young rye crop is already shading the plains with green. Courland has an agreeable diwerfity of woodland, pasture, and cultivated grounds; and the shepherd and the husbandman have the country nearly divided betwixt them. This delightful province would feem not to belong to northern regions: the pine-tree alone discovers its native north. Amidst the ice and snow of Scandinavia the ever-verdant pine shoots its head above them, as if it were to assure the inhabitants that nature is not dead, and that spring will again return!

It is a melancholy confideration that, while I view the fertile bosom of Courland,

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ent degrees of ability and virtue; and it is to be lamented that the ranks in fociety are not distinguished by such gradations alone. Society cannot exist without distinction of rank; and fociety and rank should have a chief, to preserve order in them. A good king is the representative of the Deity upon earth. He ought to govern by the laws; or, in other words, he is under the law. When a king has not the power of acting contrary to the law, his people enjoy liberty, because the laws by which they are governed are, in civilized countries, made by the voice of the people. Uncivilized nations cannot have this liberty, because to make laws supposes the makers to possess wisdom and reason. Uncivilized nations are to be governed by the laws of the fovereign and his counfellors, who are supposed to copy them from the laws of happier countries. The abuse of this power in the fovereign and his counsellors, is tyranny; as it is likewife, when they endeavour to retain it longer than is requilite, or when the civilization of the people takes place, from intercourse with

wages they fometimes receive from the farmers, who stipulate for the slaves in the fame manner as for the farm. The peafants belong to the lands, whether these are fold or let. The produce of Courland finds a ready market at Riga, Windaw, and Libaw. The two latter are fea-ports upon the coast of this province. I have stopped to survey the different provision-markets at Riga; and one day expressing my astonishment that Livonia should pour such variety and such plenty into the town, the venders shook their heads-" Ah," faid they, " it is not " from Livonia we are supplied, it is from " Courland: we should neither have provi-" fions in plenty, nor good in quality, nor " cheap, unless we had Courland!" This was their expression. Livonia is certainly not so much, if at all, inferior to Courland in point of foil and climate: the different management of the lands occasions the finer appearance and the greater fertility of the latter. This points out to the Livonian landholders an easy way to increase their revenues. Unfortunate it is, indeed, that the

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gaviar and other Russian articles for Memel and Koningsberg: they were attended by a Russian factor, or chargé d'affaires. I confidered him as an acquaintance, and we conversed upon the business he was engaged in. I asked this gentleman to let me have a little of the caviar; but he would not break upon a cask, lest the whole should have been spoiled in obliging me. I have formerly faid, that a Ruffian is willing to oblige, even when he expects no reward; but the lower ranks feldom venture any hazardous attempt to serve one, if more money is to be lost than made by it. We were ferried across the rivers in our way, as usual, upon rafts. The day was flormy when we passed the river Windaw. The rafts were not drawn from one fide to the other by a rope fixed to poles in the opposite banks, but pushed along with poles. The ropes are, no doubt, disused, as they might interrupt the navigation of the river by lighters to and from Windaw with articles of commerce.

The Courlanders appear to be the fame people

thing regarding money: the Israelites probably found nothing to be gained among them.

We arrived at a country town near Libaw. Before we entered Libaw, we passed the end of a lake, only separated from the Baltic by a fand-bank. A great part of this lake appeared covered with swans, and it is of several miles in length. I never before faw fuch a numerous collection of birds together. They made the air ring with their croaking—a strange salute to the northern fpring, which has commenced in Courland! A few days fince I left Petersburgh and the furrounding feas and lands frozen and covered with fnow; the thaw met me near Riga, where it had opened the Dwina. In Courland no fragments of winter remain. Spring hailed me as I passed the barrier-gate dividing Russia from this province. Were I to continue my journey with quick expedition down the globe to the line, I should meet with all the seasons in the course of a few weeks.

Libaw is the principal fea-port of Courland. Here is an excellent harbour. The

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272 LETTERS FROM channel between the Baltic and the lake forms it. The exports from Libaw are the produce of Courland, grain and timber. The first article is generally taken by Hollanders and Lubeckers. Few British ships come here. The neighbouring port of Memel in Prussia affords a greater variety and quantity of commodities of trade, and confequently is chiefly frequented by British vessels. I found, however, two British vesfels here, taking in timber, grain, flax, flaxfeed, &c. I went on board; and, making fome enquiries, I found they were loaded from the warehouses of an English merchant, the only one in Libaw. I waited upon this gentleman. He was with his family at dinner. I accepted of his invitation, and dined with them. We had a concert in the evening, in which Mr. King, our entertainer, played the flute, and His Prussian Majesty's consul, Mons. Zimmermann, the first fiddle. Several of the German gentlemen, the principal inhabitants of the town, likewise performed upon the violin, and the lovely Mrs. King upon the piano forte. cm10 11 12 13 14

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forte. At fuch concerts the entertainer feldom engages any professional musicians: his guests, if they are Germans, are all muficians.

Derwindaw, not far distant from Libaw, and to the northward, is the other principal port of Courland, and from which the fame articles of commerce, already noticed, are exported. Libaw is a pretty large town. but chiefly consists of wooden houses, of one, and never more than two, flories in height. The inhabitants are all Germans. The native Courlanders are not yet arrived to the honour of being citizens. They labour for that crop which employs the German fettlers in exporting or in working into different manufactures.

The road from Libaw to Memel is fimply the fea shore of the Baltic. I have feated myself upon the top of the waggon, to enjoy the fea air, and the extensive and grand prospect around me. The fun has exhaled the mist which hung over the ocean, and discovered the ships of various nations steering for different harbours. They must not VOL. II. yet

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LETTERS FROM 274 yet attempt a passage up the gulph of Finland farther than Revel upon the Ruffian, and Sweaborg or Helfingfors upon the Swedish side. The eagerness of avarice will not, however, wait for the diffolving of ice, and many vessels are lost in navigating the Baltic at too early a feafon. The luxurious in Petersburgh fometimes give a very high price for foreign provisions, when these turn scarce in winter: lemons, oranges, and other luxuries, at fuch times, are brought to Revel, and carried by land to the Russian metropolis, and even from the Courland and Pruffian fea-ports. The expence of land carriage is not high, and facilitates trade all the year. Das llat a socioo The waggons move very flowly along the fandy beach. I walk by the rolling furge, and collect peebles and amber. The tavern where we stop, is built upon a bank of fand close upon the ocean. I forget to mention to you that I have two fellow-travellers in the waggon. They are two Romans who have been disposing of some little articles in Russia, Courland, and Germa-11 cm10 12 13 14

ny: they have ventured further than all the force of antient Rome ever dared, and with the affiftance of no other weapons than pins. buckles, fciffars, razors, and muslin handkerchiefs. So much for the arts of peace. I have the honour to carve at this hotel fur mer for my two companions. We talk German together, and they have recorded to me their adventures at Pleskow, Mittaw, Libaw, and other places.

We entered Poland not far from this hotel. The Poles were fishing among the furge for shrimps with small nets. There cruelle, is a national character appears at first fight. The Poles have a near refemblance to the Coffacs: tall and handsome in their persons, of a swarthy complexion. They shave their heads, leaving only the hair upon the crown. They are respectful in their demeanour, but have at the same time a majestic deportment. Every Pole looks like a gentleman in distress. I have feen them formerly, and the fame idea always strikes me. Their dress likewise refembles the Cossac: a loose coat, wide hanging fleeves, and a fort of trowfer breeches.

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276 LETTERS FROM The dress of the women is very antique, bearing a fimilarity to the Russian, and as fine and richly ornamented with goldlace as possible. The landlady of the house at the town of Polengen, where we arrived in the evening, was decorated in all her moveable wealth. Her head was wholly covered with an embroidered napkin; and other parts of her dress were so rich and tawdry, that one might have mistaken her for our Lady of Loretto. Polengen is famous for the amber collected near it, and which constitutes an article of commerce. The town is small, or rather it is a very inconfiderable village, though it has the honour to bear the name of the country it belongs to. Polengen, or Pologne, is fituated near the fea-shore. Leaving this, we foon enter into Pruffia. The country around is flat and fandy: feveral villages are scattered about, and some appearance of cultivation. The bulk of the inhabitants of these villages are of Lithuanian origin, a poor-looking people, not differing much in vifage and drefs from the Cour-CM

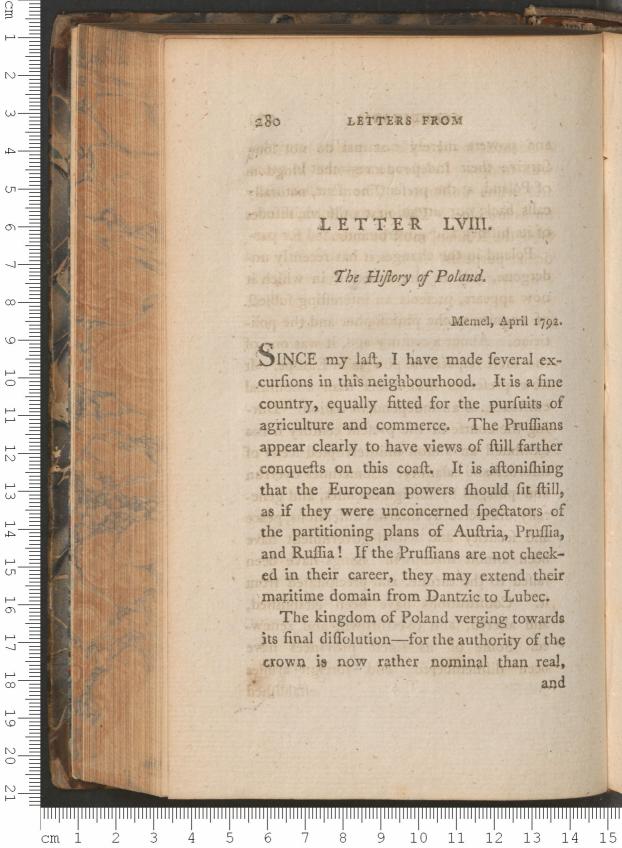
Courlanders. A long piece of timber stuck in the plain, gave us notice of our entering Polish Prussia.

A confiderable proportion of this latter kingdom bears still the original names of the countries from whom they were wrested. The kingdom of Prussia is made up of provinces from every adjoining kingdom. The Pruffian, the Ruffian, and the Austrian eagles have torn with their claws empires in pieces. Prussia has however generously enough left Poland in possession of a stripe of land, two or three miles in breadth, reaching to the Baltic fea. The Poles have at least a fight of that ocean, which formerly washed and rolled upon their shores!

Distressed Poland must depend entirely upon the mercy of her powerful plunderers. These three powers affect to be her tutors; but they have robbed their wards: and I fuspect their contentions relate rather to the farther division of the property, than to the education of the children.

We had no fooner passed this wooden division of empires, than a Prussian hussar trotted

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and powers merely nominal do not long furvive their independence—the kingdom of Poland, at the prefent moment, naturally calls back our attention to the viciffitudes of its history and government.

Poland in the changes it has recently undergone, and in the fituation in which it now appears, prefents an interesting subject. of enquiry to the philosopher and the politician. About a century ago, it was one of the most respectable powers in Europe. It now preserves little more than a nominal existence, as an independent nation. During the course of the present century it has exhibited an almost uninterrupted scene of disorder and calamity. Sometimes overrun and pillaged by foreign enemies, and generally distracted by internal dissensions, peace and fecurity and fettled government have been almost unknown. Kings have been raifed to the throne, and precipitated from it. Constitutions have been established, and altered, and overthrown, and renewed. Some of its finest provinces have been dismembered; and foreign armies established

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if it has not rather returned in a contrary progress.

It would require both greater abilities and more leifure than fall to my share, to trace the operation of the various causes which have concurred to produce these remarkable effects. As, however, the subject is interesting, and as it may tend to give you a more distinct idea of the situation of the country, I shall endeavour to give you a short view of the principal circumstances which have deprived the republic of Poland of its wonted energy, and reduced it to the state of weakness in which it appears at the period of which I propose to give you some account.

The nature of the Polish government is certainly the great source from which the missortunes of this country have taken their rise. In support of this opinion, I begin with an historical sketch of the government of Poland, from which you will see the weakness of the state keeping pace with what the Poles are pleased to call the freedom of the constitution.

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284 LETTERS FROM The first part of the history of Poland, like that of most other nations, cannot be confidered in any other light than as a mass of fable, illuminated with fome scattered rays of truth. Little, therefore, can be certainly known respecting the origin of the Polish government. There are, however, several circumstances to direct our opinion. The description Tacitus has left us of the tribes from whom the Poles are, most probably, descended; the analogy of other northern nations, and the general tenor of the Polish history, tend to prove, that the great body of the people enjoyed an high degree of freedom, as well as a confiderable influence on the measures of government. Although the fovereign power was generally continued in the fame family, there was no established rule of hereditary succession. If a free election did not take place on every vacancy, the confent of the nation, expressed in a general diet, was always necessary to confirm the nomination of a successor to the ducal dignity. While the government remained on this footing, the people were 10 11 12 13 14 15 cm

in fact free; and yet the fovereign power appears to have been subject to no constitutional restrictions. Neither the prerogatives of the duke, nor the privileges of the people, were defined by positive law. Custom seems to have formed the only restriction to either. The sovereign carried his power as far as he thought he could depend upon the submission of the nation; and the people sometimes exerted their right of expelling a tyrannical master, and afferting their freedom by sorce.

The government subsisted for a considerable time in this undefined state. We are only informed of two attempts, in the course of some centuries, to introduce a better form of government. But as the Poles were not better acquainted with the science of legislation at that time, than their descendants appear to have been in later times, the expedients hit upon produced none of the benefits expected from them, and the old government was, in both cases, soon restored.

The first circumstance, which tended to operate

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ments, each of which, singly considered, was of little importance, by degrees broke the spirit of the people, and disposed them to unreserved submission.

I confider the introduction of Christianity as another event, which, by tending to firengthen the power of the aristocracy. concurred to produce the changes which have fince taken place in the government. The Poles embraced the Christian religion about the year 964, when the spiritual tyranny of Europe was at its height; and the despotic principles of the Roman catholic church were received along with the Roman catholic faith. The apostles of this church, far from imitating the primitive simplicity of their predecessors, assumed in their mission a tone of authority suitable to the high claims of their temporal head. Formerly, the Romish church formed through Europe one vast body, whose general interests were the fame, in all its members; one spirit pervaded and animated the whole. Prefumptuous from the powers they pretended to derive from the author of their religion, and proud

blind veneration attached to their character facilitated their usurpations. The facred phalanx, well trained to subordination, seconded with all the fervor of holy zeal the views of their leaders: and thus the domineering spirit of the Roman catholic hierarchy, concurring with the arbitrary principles of the feudal system, gave an easy victory to the clergy and nobility over the liberties of the people. While implicit obedience was enforced by the horrors of damnation, as well as by the dread of temporal punishment, no effectual opposition to the tyranny of the aristocracy could be expected.

The people first felt the consequences of these institutions, in the extinction of their political privileges. They were excluded from the diet of election; the nobility and clergy reserving to themselves the sole right of regulating the succession to the sovereignty. The abridgement of personal liberty quickly followed the loss of political consequence. Oppressions were multiplied. A variety of vexatious claims vol. 11. U were,

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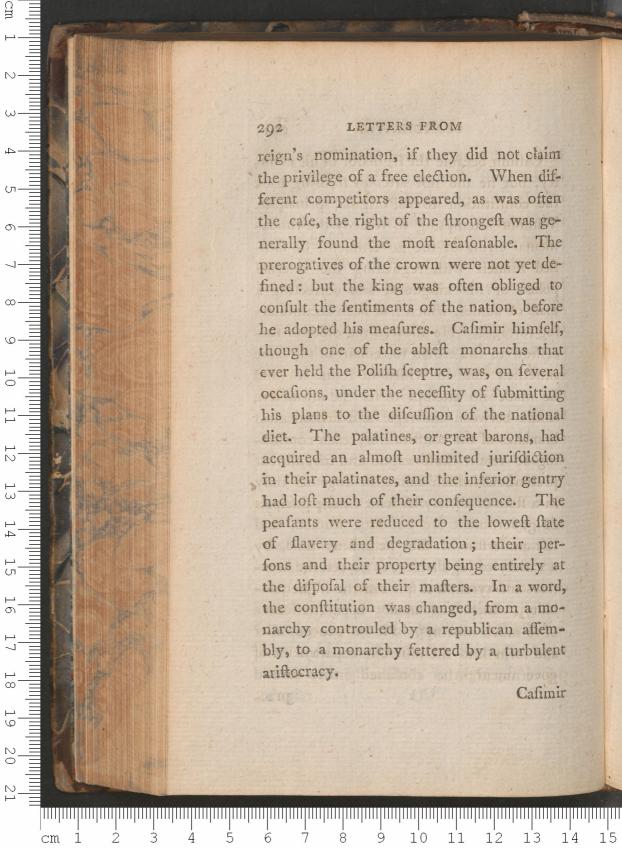
200 LETTERS FROM were, from time to time, established against them. They were gradually deprived of the rights of men, as well as of those of citizens. The law was too weak, or too corrupt, to afford them relief; and they funk into a flate of servitude, from which they have never fince emerged. Attempts have indeed been made to reflore them to the protection of law, and the rank of freemen; but these attempts have hitherto failed of fuccess. Towards the close of the twelfth century, Casimir the fecond endeavoured to repress the tyranny of the ariffocracy, and to fecure the persons and property of the peafants: but the influence of his regulations, as it arose chiefly from his perfonal character, produced only a transitory alleviation of the grievances of the people. The oppressions he attempted to remedy arose, on the other hand, from causes which were permanent, and inherent in the constitution. Accordingly, no fooner had the death of this amiable monarch removed the restraint of his authority, than the anarchy and violence of the aristocracy broke 10 12 CM 11 13

broke out with renewed fury. The pride of the most turbulent of the nobility was offended by this attempt to fet bounds to their usurpations; and this circumstance, joined to the uncertain ideas entertained concerning the right of fuccession to the fovereignty, split the nation into factions. Hence arose a train of civil wars, which convulfed the state, with only occasional intervals of tranquillity, till towards the middle of the fourteenth century. At this period arose Casimir the Great, to whose abilities Poland still considers herself much indebted. As the reign of this prince forms a remarkable era in the Polish annals, allow me to fketch the leading features of the conflitution, at his elevation to the throne in 1333.

There were at this period no written laws in Poland. There was no determinate order of fuccession to the crown. The fovereign, indeed, generally appointed his fuccessor, but this appointment was not always respected. The nobility always exercised the right of confirming their sovereign's

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Casimir became the legislator of his country, but he did not attempt to bring back the conflitution to its original principles. Without attempting to remedy the fundamental errors of the government, he fatiffied himself with regulating the internal police of his kingdom, and correcting a mass of abuses, which had been accumulating for ages. He allowed the order of fuccession to the crown to remain in the same unfettled state in which he found it: and he made no attempt to fix the distinctive limits between the regal and aristocratical branches of the constitution; each continuing to retain those vague and inconsistent pretentions which can exist together only in a flate of fociety in which the principles of government are but little studied, and less understood. But he endeavoured, by a variety of regulations, to repress the licentious and tyrannical spirit of the higher nobility, which had already been the fource of fo much mischief. He introduced order and form into the different departments of government: he abolished many absurd U 3 prac-

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must have still continued a great and slourishing nation. The government, in whatever hands lodged, would have been always able to command the services of an active peasantry, brave from the conscious feeling of independence, and attached to their country by the strongest of all ties, that of common interest.

But after the death of Casimir, the peafants were quickly thrown back into that flate of mifery and degradation from which he had attempted to raife them. The laws enacted in their favour were foon either abrogated or forgotten. The situation of this class of men became even more deplorable and hopeless from the attempt that had been made to relieve them. Their masters seem to have taken the hint from this circumstance, to secure their future usurpations with all the folemnity of legal enactment. Pains and penalties without number were, accordingly, denounced against all of them who should dare to think themfelves entitled to the common rights of human nature; and their lives and properties

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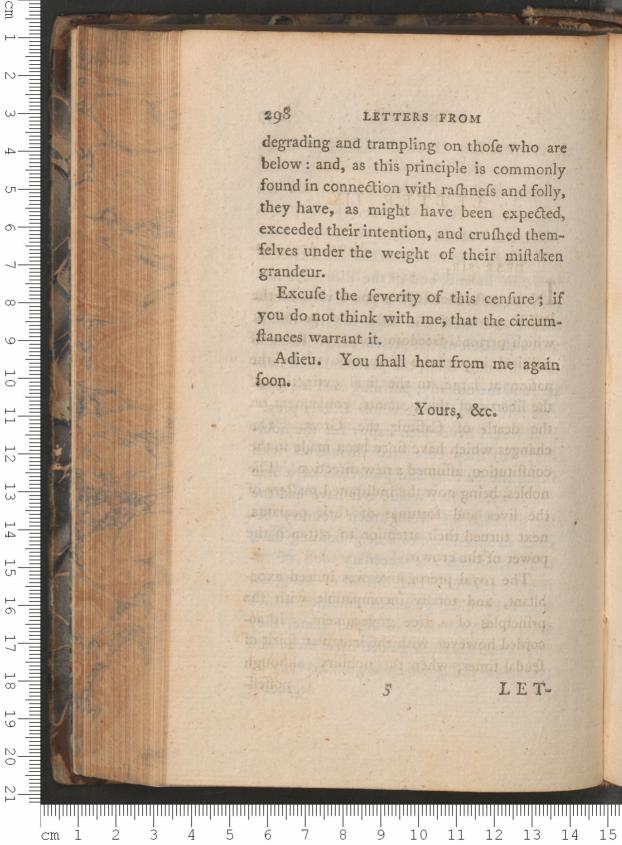
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dination. Thus the national Arength has, of late, become chiefly formidable to the nation itself. As an evidence of what I advance, allow me to remind you of the wonderful facility with which Charles the twelfth over-ran Poland, and of the still more surprising ease with which a few Russian regiments overawed this once mighty nation at the election of the present king. In these and all similar cases, the peasants stood neuter; and the nobility, pursuing each his separate measures, left the whole an easy prey.

It would have been happy for the nobility, had they contented themselves with being the patrons and protectors of a free peasantry. They would not have had the mortification of seeing their country become an appendage of a neighbouring state, and themselves the necessary tools of soreign intrigues. But instead of being actuated by that generous ambition which strives to equal those of higher same, they have generally been guided by a mean and tyrannical pride, which is gratified only by degrading



## LETTER LIX.

Memel, April 1792.

DEAR SIR,

In my last letter I gave you a view of the Polish government, from the period at which personal freedom and some show of political importance were enjoyed by the nation at large, to the sinal extinction of the liberty of the peasants, consequent on the death of Casimir the Great. The changes which have since been made in the constitution, assumed a new direction. The nobles, being now the indisputed masters of the lives and fortunes of their peasants, next turned their attention to retrench the power of the crown.

The royal prerogative was indeed exorbitant, and totally incompatible with the principles of a free government. It accorded however with the irregular spirit of spudal times, when the nobility, although possess.

300 LETTERS FROM possessing no constitutional check on the power of the crown, could yet overcome the king; and extort from his fears the enjoyment of an independence which was not fecured to them by any legal concession. But the time was now arrived when this precarious freedom could no longer fatisfy an high-spirited nobility. The nobles determined to hold their privileges, not as matter of favour, but as matter of right: they determined to limit the power of their kings, and to effablish their own immunities on folid conftitutional grounds. The desired spale and I go on to trace the most remarkable changes which this principle has introduced into the constitution. Perhaps on this subject I shall not be able to give you much information which you may not already have met with. But I flatter myself you will not reckon my letters wholly useless, if they only afford you (which is all I aim at) a concentrated view of circumstances, in themselves highly important, and rendered more peculiarly interesting by the consequences which have resulted from them. The 10 15 cm 11 13 14

The reformation which Casimir the Great made in the government, appears to have fuggested to the nobility the idea of abridging the power of the crown. The laws of this prince had been calculated to restrain the licentious freedom of the ariftocracy, and to emancipate the peafants from the galling yoke which their mafters had imposed on them. This principle, once admitted, might lay a foundation for much more important alterations. An union of interests between the king and the people might enable the king to reduce the independent baron to the humble level of a fubject, and exalt the flave to a participation of the privileges of his master. Another circumstance concurred to confirm their fears. Calimir's fuccessor was a foreigner. He possessed extenfive hereditary dominions; and might employ his Hungarian army to crush the liberties of the Polish subjects.

The nobles resolved to prevent these dangers, and the occasion was highly favourable to their design. Lewis was in Hungary when his uncle breathed his last.

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The idea of a limited monarchy was not yet familiar in Europe; and, it is probable, the nobles were not more fully resolved to watch over their new privileges, than the king was to difregard his concessions. The point was foon brought to iffue. Lewis imposed, by his fole authority, the ordinary land-tax. The nobles remonstrated; and as the king found it necessary to have money at any rate, he confented to reduce the tax confiderably, and to purchase the quiet enjoyment of the remainder by confenting, that those who were appointed to fill the principal offices of government should hold their places for life, and by promifing to exclude all foreigners from his administration.

You will observe, that the attempts of the nobles were hitherto directed rather to restrain the activity of the royal prerogative, than to divide the powers of government with the king. The legislature was still wholly attached to the crown, though clogged and retarded in its operations by the weight of those restrictions which the aristocracy had imposed. Had Lewis joined the abilities of his predecessor to his own

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304 LETTERS FROM arbitrary principles, it is probable, the nobles would have derived little benefit from their new privileges. The command of taxation, although now the leading power which communicates motion to the whole machine of government, was of very fubordinate importance at the period of which I write, when taxable commodities were few; when the revenues of the crown, like those of every feudal baron, were chiefly derived from the royal demesnes; when armies were raised and supported on feudal principles, and the falaries of the officers of state arose from the lands and emoluments unalienably attached to their offices. But the measures of this prince were generally impolitic. Incapable of those enlarged views which take in the causes, connections and consequences of political arrangements, he opposed to the systematic encroachments of the ariftocracy mere temporary expedients; and, as he neither knew how to refift with dignity, nor to concede with a good grace, his refistance did not procure him the character of firmness, 10 12 15 cm11 13

ness, nor his concession the reputation of moderation. Yet, notwithstanding the weakness of his administration, and the jealousy with which the aristocracy watched over his measures, he was able to dismember feveral provinces at that time dependent on Poland, and to procure the confent of a diet to elect his fon-in-law, Sigifmond marquis of Brandenburg, his fuccessor. On the former of these acts were founded the pretensions of Austria, at the partition of Poland in 1772: and, confidering the hereditary rapacity of the house of Brandenburg, it may be reckoned an uncommon instance of moderation in the Prussian monarch, that, at the same disastrous period, he did not claim the crown of Poland in confequence of the latter.

Fortunately, however, for the Poles, Lewis died before Sigismond reached Poland. The nobles, agreeably to the terms of their original compact with Lewis, affumed the right of election. Sigifmond's pretenfions were fet aside; and the daughter of the late king was placed on the throne,

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306 LETTERS FROM on condition that the should not marry without the approbation of the states-an article which still continues to be inferted in the Pacta Conventa. The marriage of this princess with Ladislaus Jaghello, in 1388, added Lithuania, Samogitia, and Ruffia Nigra to the dominions of Poland, and introduced a new line of kings. No other conditions but those stipulated with Lewis were imposed upon Ladislaus at his elevation to the throne. But in the course of his reign the nobles pushed their claims farther than they had hitherto done; and the character of the king was favour, able to their views. Ladiflaus possessed great talents both as a general and a statesman, joined to the less royal virtues of an honest Superior himself to injustice and all the oblique arts of political intrigue, he feems not to have fuspected them in others, and confequently to have given too much fcope to the growing pretenfions of the aristocracy. As, by the conditions on which he had obtained the crown, he could not impose taxes without the consent of the states. 10 11 12 14 15 cm13

states, he assembled the nobles in their different provinces for the purpose of obtaining an additional subsidy. This was the first instance of the exercise of the right of taxation by the nobility. It was also the origin of the dietines, or provincial assemblies.

Having now fucceeded in appropriating to themselves the right of imposing taxes, the nobles began to form farther pretenfions. An occasion foon offered of bringing their claims forward. Ladiflaus wifhed to fecure the fuccession to his fon. The nobles were willing to gratify their monarch in this favourite point, provided he would confent to grant them fome new immunities. The firmness of the king withstood their importunity. A tumult, as is usual on those occasions, ensued; but Ladislaus was not to be overawed by their clamours. His generofity, however, foon afterwards granted to the wishes of his people what his firmness had refused to their demands.

Several of those new regulations, which regarded the qualifications requisite to the holding of offices in the state, had the me-

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The long and unquiet reign of this prince, who governed Poland for near half a century, furnished the nobles with various pretences to increase their power. Cafimir's injudicious partiality for his Lithuanian subjects disgusted the Poles. The long wars in which he was engaged, exhausted the treasury. And although, during the course of his reign, the boundaries of the flate were extended; and its federative strength increased, by the union of the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia in the person of his eldest son; yet these circumstances feemed rather to imprefs the nobles with a dread of his power, than with an esteem for his talents. Indeed, although his military fuccess was confiderable, and his good fortune still more remarkable, he possessed neither that energy of mind which commands respect, nor that condescension which wins affection. Although he had fucceeded in uniting the fovereignty of rival states in his own family, Poland felt her internal strength debilitated and her resources exhausted by the splendour of her monarch. X 4

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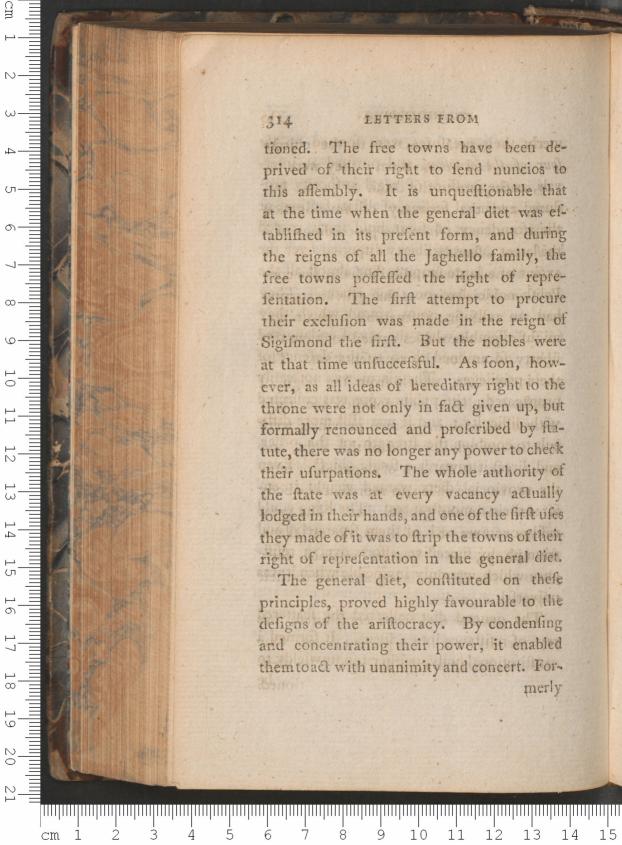
312 LETTERS FROM monarch. Accordingly the nobles eagerly feized every occasion which the king's neceffities afforded them of farther abridging his power, and establishing to themselves a more general and immediate influence on all the measures of government. The most important change in the conflitution which this reign introduced, was that by which the right of taxation was vested exclusively in the general diet. In consequence of this regulation it became necessary to give this assembly a new and a more convenient form. Previously to this period, all who were comprehended in the class of nobles, together with a certain number of the inhabitants of the cities, possessed the right of voting in the general diet. Hence those meetings generally bore a nearer resemblance to the tumultuousness of a mob, than to the folemnity of a great national affembly. Too numerous to be comprehended within the limits of any regular forms of procedure, and too much broken by party distinctions to be capable of rational discussion, they could only give, or refuse, 10 11 12 14 15 cm 13

refuse, a general fanction to the objects that were laid before them; they were totally inadequate to the detail of public bufiness, and the accuracy of investigation which must enter into the proceedings of a legislative assembly.

To remedy these radical defects, the conflitution of this body was changed: and to prevent the confusion inseparable from univerfal fuffrage, the nobles agreed to wave this right, and to vote by representation. The provincial diets, which from the reign of Ladislaus Jaghello had possessed the right of taxation, each in its own province, were from henceforth deprived of this right, and confined to the election of deputies, or nuncios as they are called, to represent the body of electors in the general diet. The great officers of state, the palatines, the castellans, the bishops, and fenators retained their places in the diet, as being attached to their respective dignities.

The general diet, thus constituted, has preserved its form to the present times. One material alteration only deserves to be mentioned.

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merly their measures were formed on the four of the occasion, and pursued at intervals, as the pressure of regal authority produced a general feeling of diffatisfaction, or the afcendency of some bold spirit roused the latent defire of liberty dispersed over the extent of a large empire. For almost all the Polish nobles live on their estates. They had no rallying point, round which they might affemble when the cry of endangered liberty summoned them to the defence of their privileges. The alarm was not eafily propagated; the public voice was collected with difficulty; and it was still more difficult to combine the strength of the order, and direct it towards a fingle object. Even the provincial diets wanted weight to enforce their remonstrances. The King could easily overawe each of them separately, and triumph by successive efforts over a resistance which was only invincible when it was universal.

The general diet collected the feattered rays of refistance into a focus. It formed a constitutional body, neither too unwieldy to

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be actuated by one spirit, nor too feeble to want the energy necessary to enforce its authority. It was a theatre on which the ambitious might display his talents, the discontented might traverse the public meafures in revenge of his private wrongs, and the patriot might make the voice of truth be heard and respected by the nation.

Accordingly the inflitution of the general diet foon gave a new direction to the views of the aristocracy. Previously to this æra, the nobles aimed rather at an exemption from grievances than at the possession of power. The opposition lay rather between the exertion of prerogative and the enjoyment of independence, than between the actual power of the fovereign and the claimed power of the nobles. Even the negative which the aristocracy enjoyed against the king's right of taxation, was rather an expedient to fave the purses of the subject, than an attempt to appropriate to themselves one of the branches of the king's prerogative. But from this period the crown and the diet were directly opposed to one another. Each anio:

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Each aimed at a direct ascendency in the legislature; and neither could gain, except in as far as its antagonist lost.

That branch of the legislature which was first vested in this affembly was becoming gradually more important. As the progress of society advanced, the expences of government increased, while the hereditary revenues of the crown remained stationary. The fuccessive improvements in arts and manufactures were gradually enhancing the price of every article of elegance and luxury. Commerce had begun to introduce the valuable productions of foreign artifts, which could not be purchased but at a much higher price than the rude materials of former elegance. Wars were becoming more tedious and obstinate; and although carried on with less ferocity and bloodshed, they were gradually requiring a much greater command of money. The combination of these circumstances with others of a fimilar tendency foon rendered the right of taxation the most important branch of legislature. I need not remind you of the use which the

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commons of England have made of this right. In the hands of the Polish diet it foon became an equally powerful engine. From the difference of situation and character between the two nations, it has indeed in England led to the most perfect model of a free government which has yet been framed; while in Poland it has conducted to a state of weakness, anarchy, and oppression, which has perhaps never been exceeded in the annals of government. But its effects have been equally powerful in both cases.

Casimir soon felt the weight of that power with which he had invested the general diet. His continual necessities obliged him to have frequent recourse to this affembly for supplies, and every new demand produced a new list of grievances. The diet immediately learnt to connect the question of redress with the demand of supply. The king and the aristocracy endeavoured each to make the best bargain they could for their respective interests: and the dispute was generally carried on with all the winding

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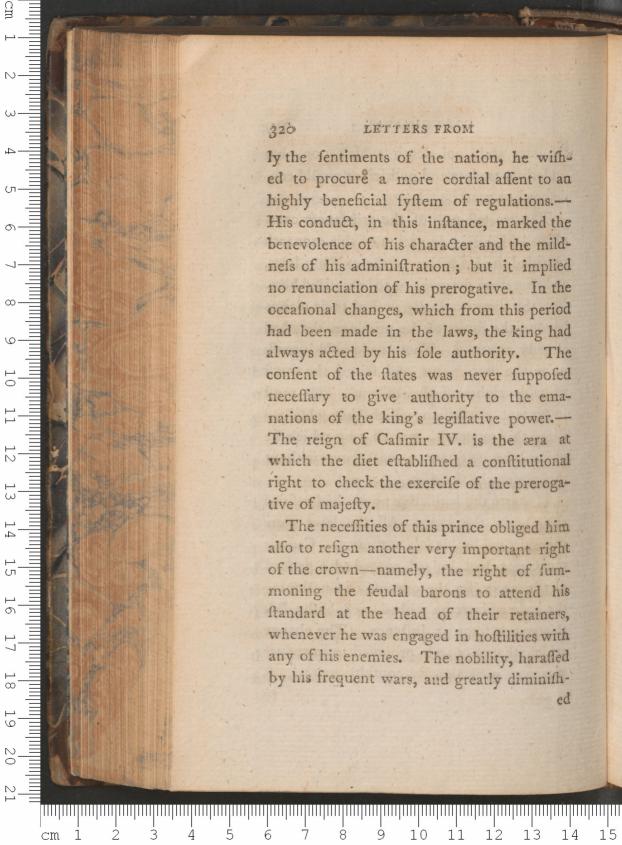
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ing arts and cool deceit which none but underling traders and politicians would condescend to practise.

The greatest part of the grievances complained of during the reign of this monarch regarded the infraction of the existing laws, and therefore deserve not to be noticed here. But the diets gradually pushed their claims beyond the limits of the privileges they had already acquired. They made bold inroads upon the prerogative, and seized the most valuable rights of the crown. The most important concession which they obtained from this monarch, was that by which he obliged himself not to enact laws without the consent of the diet.

Hitherto the legislative power had resided entirely in the king. All the laws were promulgated by his sole authority. Casimir the Great had indeed convoked a general diet in 1347, for the purpose of sanctioning the code of laws he wished to establish. But this was a singular instance. The change which that monarch proposed to introduce was very general. By consulting previous-



ed in their number, wished to secure themselves against the destructive effects of the
ambition of their kings. Nothing could be
more likely to accomplish this end, than
throwing off their obligations to obey the
royal summons. Casimir wished to replenish his exhausted treasury; and money was
to be procured in no other way than by
yielding to the claims of the diet. Accordingly the bargain, being thus mutually advantageous, was soon concluded, and the
feudal services abolished.

Such were the principal changes made upon the government of Poland from the death of Casimir the Great in 1370, to the death of Casimir IV. in 1492. You will probably agree with me, that the ariftocracy had hitherto proceeded with confiderable moderation; and that the restraints they had imposed on the power of the crown were, upon the whole, reasonable. To impose legal checks upon the exercise of those prerogatives which never can be fafely left to the will of a fovereign was a glorious attempt. But, while I allow the highest praise to the principle on which the Poles VOL. II. proceeded,

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proceeded, it must at the same time be admitted, that they have not been judicious in the means by which they have applied it. It would be difficult to point out any period at which the Polish constitution was so regulated as to have even the appearance of stability. In all the fuccessive improvements which they have made on the form of their government, the Poles have either exceeded their intention, or have fallen short of it: they either have not fufficiently fecured their liberty, or they have thrown off all reftraint and subordination.

We may reckon the establishment of general diets in their present form to be the æra of the constitution. Before this period, every thing was in a state of incoherence and uncertainty. The general diet was intended to be a regular counterpoise to the power of the crown, and to introduce order and confishency into the government. But it by no means produced the effects expected from it. The government was still as irregularly balanced as before. The king who, by economy, could confine the expences of his government within the hereditary revenue

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revenue of his crown was under no neceffity of fummoning the diet; and, confequently, there was no legal remedy for whatever grievances might exist during his reign. On the other hand, the elective nature of the crown threw the whole power of the state at every vacancy into the hands of the aristocracy, who might, under the pretence of securing their privileges, impose whatever limitations they pleased on the successor, or even annihilate the sovereign power.

Although, however, the king might sometimes acquire a decided preponderancy in the constitution, it is obvious that, in the struggle between royalty and aristocracy, he had to sustain a very unequal contest. There was no hereditary body of men, who, from a similarity of interests, were induced to support the dignity of the crown. He was obliged to choose his servants out of that order whose views were directly contrary to his own. In advancing such men to offices of trust and importance, he often only invested them with a greater power of injuring his cause: for royal favour is not always

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326 LETTERS FROM LETTER LX. Memel, April 17924 DEAR SIR, HE administration of Batori had impressed the nobles with a sense of the necesfity of order and regularity in the government. The spirit of discord was for a time laid; public virtue began to raise her head; and the good of the state appeared to be the only object of the national exer-The diet which met at the commencement of the interregnum conducted its deliberations with unanimity; and enacted feveral falutary laws tending to check that spirit of faction and intrigue which had on former elections convulsed the state; to prevent corruption in the electors, by declaring bribery a capital crime; and thus, by removing every motive of private interest in the electors, to procure a fair unbiassed declaration of the national will. most 10 11 12 cm13

most flattering hopes were conceived from this auspicious commencement.

But it foon appeared that the principles of disorder were too deeply rooted, to be fo eafily removed. The laws for preventing bribery and faction were entered on the records of the diet, and quietly laid up in the archives of the affembly, to fleep in filence. The feeble effort of patriotifm, which the diet of convocation had made, appeared to have exhausted the public spirit of the nation. It was an exertion to which the Poles had not been accustomed; and they refolved to make themselves ample amends, in the fequel of the interregnum, for the restraints they had come under at its commencement. Accordingly various factions immediately started up, whose intrigues were carried on with the utmost keenness and exasperation. The diet of election at last met; and the irritable temper of the electors, inflamed by reciprocal abuse and animofity, foon hurried them beyond their usual measure of outrage. From mutual infult they proceeded to open violence;

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although it was fruitful in difastrous events, produced no material change on the conftitution. The fortunes of the state were, for many years, fustained by the courage of his foldiers, and the fingular merit of his generals. It required all the ill-judged policy of Sigifmond the third to frustrate the advantages which thefe produced to the state. But this prince was as obstinate in his political errors, as bigoted in his religious opinions. Educated in a blind veneration for the church of Rome, his catholic zeal lost him the crown of Sweden. His dilatory and feeble measures lost to his son the crown of Ruffia, after he had been folemnly elected at Muscow. His hopeless claims on Sweden engaged him in a ruinous war with the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus; which an obstinate adherence to the opinion of his priests and confessors led him to protract, long after every prospect of success had vanished. The peevish aversion which he shewed to the doctrines of the reformation excited the suspicion of those who adhered to them. The loss of Moldavia, Walachia, and

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330 LETTERS FROM and Livonia alienated the minds of those who preferred the honour of their country to the favour of their king. And some attempts to promote the interest of his own family in the state, alarmed the jealoufy of those who wished to depress the royal influence. The nobles complained of his facrificing the interests of the nation to promote his perfonal views, and to gratify his own resentment. Confederacies were formed for the redress of grievances. A general feeling of discontent pervaded the nation. These discontents however were not immediately productive of any important confequences. They only ferved to weaken a government naturally inefficient; and to throw odium on a king who was an object of contempt, rather than of hatred. Sigifmond died in 1632, after a reign of fortyfive years. Had he lived in peaceful times, and been placed at the head of a more regular government, he might have been classed among the multitude of fovereigns, whom we pardon for not doing any good, in confideration of their not doing any harm. cm11

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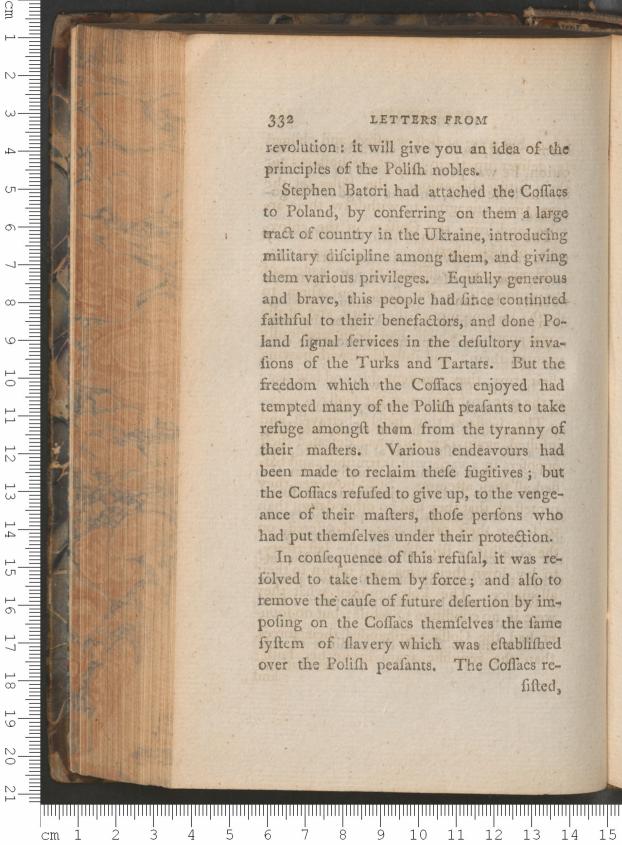
harm. But, both from character and education, he was peculiarly unfit for the times in which he lived, and the kingdom he governed.

The only accession which the aristocracy made to their privileges, in the course of his reign, was a law securing exclusively to the nobility the landed property of the kingdom; and prohibiting the king or the commons from purchasing siefs without the confent of the diet.

The diet of election was, as usual, a scene of tumult and disorder, although no other candidate but the son of the late king appeared. Ladislaus was at last elected, and his reign was calamitous chiefly from the effects of his father's injudicious measures. A plan had been laid to impose the tyrannical principles of the Polish aristocracy on the Cossacs of the Ukraine: and the attempt to execute it lost that brave people to Poland, and had well nigh proved fatal to the state.

Allow me to sketch the outlines of this revolution;

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fifted, but were at first worsted, and obliged to deliver up their leaders, as hostages for their future behaviour: the Poles, at the same time, engaging to withdraw their armies, and leave the Cossacs in the enjoyment of their liberties.

Having got possession of the leaders of the insurrection, the Poles put them to death; in contempt of the treaty, and of the royal pardon which had been previously granted them: and instead of withdrawing their army, they augmented it, and laid siege to the principal station of the Cossacs.

The Cossacs, thus basely betrayed and insulted, again slew to arms; deseated their opposers in a variety of skirmishes, and baseled all their attempts. Still, however, they protested, that they had no other design than to secure their privileges; and offered, on the conditions stipulated in the last treaty, to lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance. The Poles granted what they were in no condition to resuse: but no sooner had the Cossacs disbanded their forces, than the republic again broke her faith;

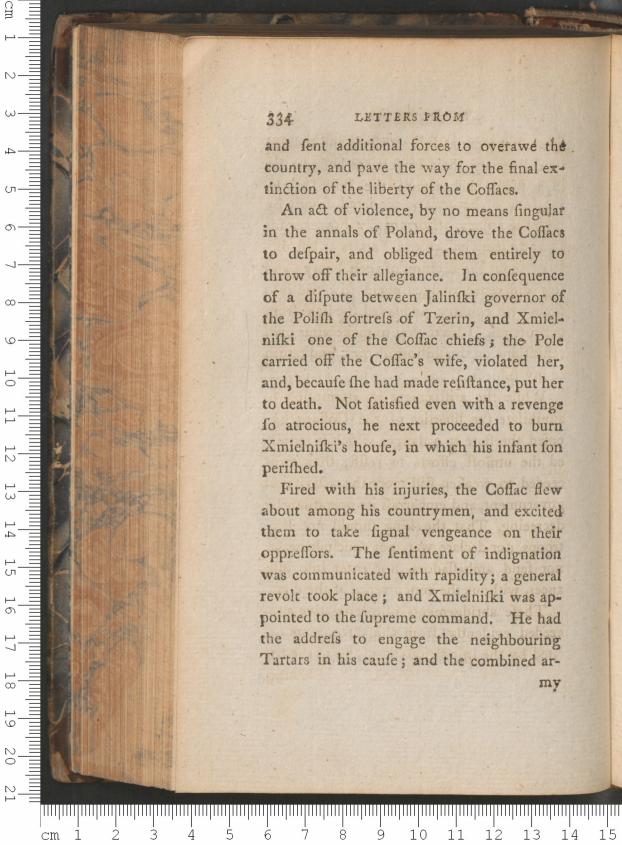
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my burst into Poland with irresistible violence; cut to pieces the troops sent to oppose them; and desolated the country with the sury of barbarians rendered frantic by personal injury. Fortunately however for Poland, the Cossacs and Tartars at last disfered about the division of their booty; and this difference obliged them to retire into their own country, and saved the state from destruction. I leave you to make your own reslections on this historical trait, and return to my subject.

While the aristocracy, in attempting to annihilate the liberties of the Cossacs, exposed the state to a danger which it required the utmost efforts to resist, they proceeded to weaken still more the activity of government, and embarrass its operations by decreeing, That the king should not levy troops, nor declare war, nor conclude peace, nor send ambassadors, nor enter into alliances, without the concurrence of the diet.

These abridgements of prerogative proceeded evidently from the discontents excited by the injudicious measures of the late

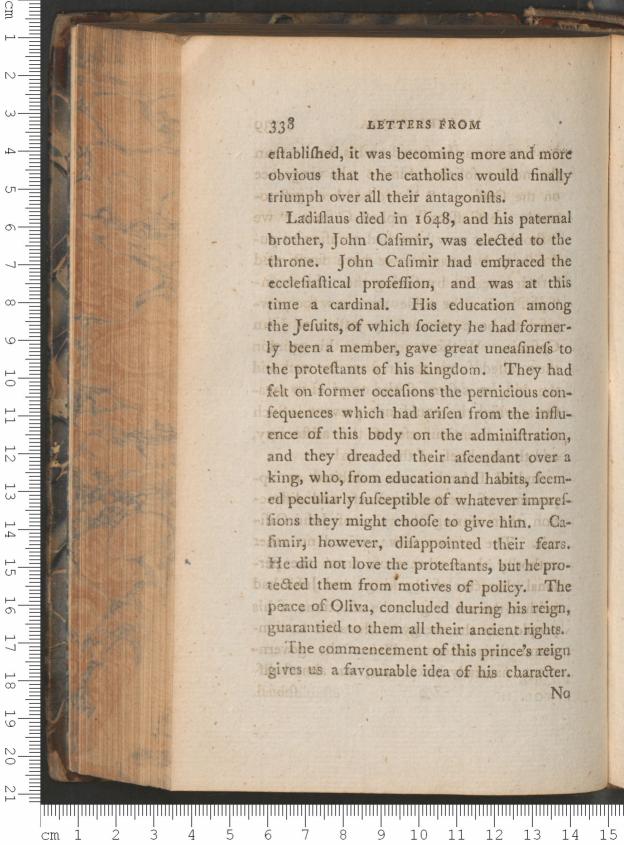
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would admit. He preserved to each that equality of privilege which the Pacta Conventa required. But the spirit of religious animolity had gone forth, and the power of the crown was too impotent to restrain it. Under the monkish administration of the late king, the catholics had made vast acquisitions. It was the uniform system of Sigismond, and the only point on which his policy was uniform, to exalt this party. He employed and trusted none but catholics: and he depressed the other sects by every species of mortification and discouragement which his power, directed by the ingenuity of the Jesuits, could throw in their way. In confequence of these meafures, the catholic party had acquired a decided fuperiority. Popery was confidered as the state religion: the term dissidents, now applied only to those who were not of this religion, had come to involve the idea of diffenters from the national faith; and, notwithstanding the laudable efforts of Ladiflaus to preserve the equality of rights and privileges which the laws of the state had VOL. II. established, 7

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No fooner was he feated on his throne, than the nobles folicited him to take vengeance on the Coffacs, "If we had been just towards the Coffacs," replied Casimir, "we "should not now have had occasion to pusinish their ravages: we have fanctioned "their excesses by fetting them the examination of the controlled by justice, or John Casimir. Without regard to his opinion they raised forces to carry on the war, and the king was soon forced to yield to measures which he could not prevent. Such was the licentions of the aristocracy, and the weakness of the crown!

pearance of greater weakness and distraction than during the reign of John Casimir. The crown now retained no other authority than what arose from the perfonal character of the king: and John had neither the art to gain the affections of his people, nor the energy of character to command their esteem. Hence the government, naturally incoherent, was almost dis-

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On confidering the nature of the government previous to the establishment of this abfurd regulation, it is difficult to conceive how it came to be admitted, and what purpose it could be intended to serve. The principles of the constitution were already abundantly incoherent. As the nobles were fubject to no restraints but what they chose to impose on themselves, there was already fufficient scope for the license of the most turbulent spirits. An higher degree of independence than what they had already enjoyed was impossible. One would suppose therefore that, while the Poles chose to continue even that loofe fort of union which fprings from living in the same country, they must wish to maintain some degree of unity in the government, and fome degree of order in the state; and, consequently, that they would not have admitted a principle fubverfive of all order and fubordinationa principle which tends to impress the jarring elements of their constitution with a repulfive force, whose intensity increases as the pressure of critical emergencies renders

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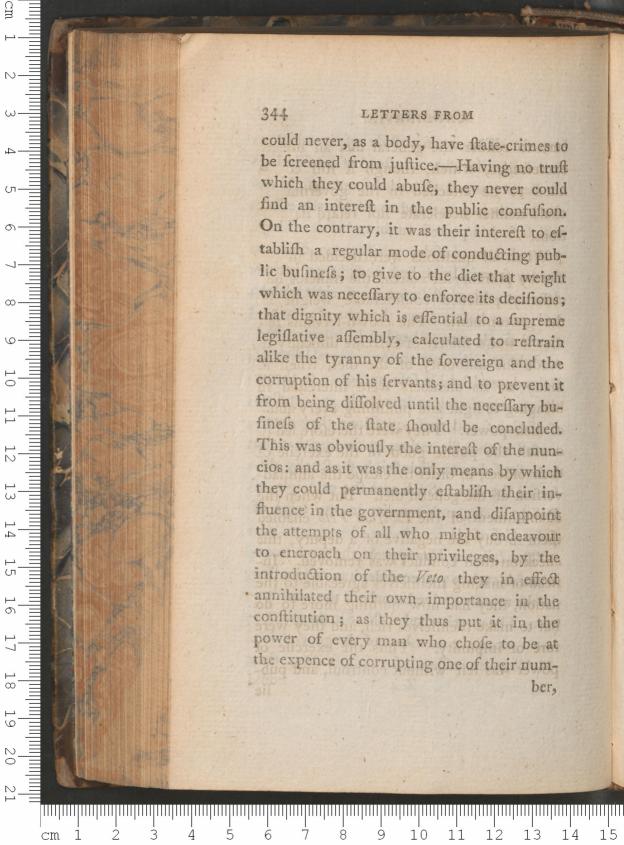
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protest. The unufual style of it raised a ferment in the diet. Instead of considering the deputy as a fool, and difregarding him; the members proceeded to discuss the effect which fuch a protest ought to have. They proceeded to consider whether an obscure deputy from Upita had a right to introduce into the constitution a principle which had never before been thought of ;-whether a fingle wrong-headed Lithuanian had a right to give law to the general diet of Poland, and by his fole authority to throw the government into inevitable and endless confusion: and these questions they determined in the affirmative, by finding that the protest of deputy Sicinski had actually diffolved the diet. Such was the principle of Polish liberty and equality in the reign of John Calimir ! Inter which to bouldout as w

The Liberum Veto appears the more unaccountable when you confider it as originating in the representative branch of the constitution. The nuncios had no share in the government, except as members of the general diet. Holding no offices of responsibility, they

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ber, to render the general diet an useless excrescence, which, though it still continued to be attached to the government, could neither accelerate nor retard its motions.

When all questions were decided in the diet by plurality of voices, the nuncios neceffarily possessed confiderable weight in the government. The crown-fervants felt that it was a matter of extreme difficulty to evade the authority of the diet, when fo many of its members were interested in bringing to light and punishing every abuse of their power. They were therefore led to confult the public good in the exercise of their offices, in order to escape the animadversion of the general diet. But when the establishment of the Liberum Veto enabled them to buy the negative of a deputy, this check on their conduct was removed. Inflead of making themselves agreeable to the nation, they had now nothing more to do but to make themselves rich, and they were fure of impunity. Thus the exercise of power was left without controul, and pub-

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duct of the nuncios in this inflance bears no small affinity to that of those sagacious gentlemen who revenge an affront by cutting their own throat instead of that of their adversary.

It is probable that Sicinski expected to be bribed to withdraw his protest. This has generally been the view with which the Veto has fince been interposed. But the circumstances of the times prevented this mode of compromising the matter. The nobles had been irritated by the king's unwillingness to profecute the Coffac war. They were farther offended with the terms of the truce which had been granted them. There was therefore a general tendency in the nation to thwart the king's measures. The treasury was exhausted, and considerable arrears were due to the army. The appearances in Russia and Sweden at the fame time made it necessary to provide against the storm which was ready to burst upon the republic from these quarters. There was, therefore, a necessity for several additional taxes; and, as these could be imposed only

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fous party in Poland, who, having no hopes of profit or preferment in the ordinary course of regular government, and being restrained by no tie of honour or principle, have uniformly somented saction and disorder, that they might have a chance of promoting their private interest in the midst of national consustant. The union of all these parties proved too powerful and too clamorous for the friends of order and good government; the Liberum Veto was declared an essential branch of the Polish constitution, and the diet separated in great confusion.

The establishment of the Liberum Veto completed the Polish constitution. For a period of about three centuries, the aristocracy had been keeping up, by gradual and painful efforts, a structure composed of rude and shapeless parts, which they had not the skill to adjust to one another. The Liberum Veto now crowned the pile; and the whole together forms the most singular assemblage of incoherent materials that ever was exhibited.

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350 LETTERS FROM In contemplating this motley mais we obferve the outlines of a free constitution terminating, by a strange capriciousness of defign, in flavery, and many parts of a noble and regular government, which however produced only mifrule and licentiousness. It has fomehow happened that the Poles have never been able to hit the due medium between regal tyranny and popular confusion, which constitutes a free government; and from which every deviation is, on the one hand dangerous to liberty, and on the other inconfistent with subordination and national union. Even those parts of the constitution which deferve the highest praise are found connected with circumstances which frustrate their end. I might illustrate this in every branch of the constitution; but, lest I should tire your patience, I shall confine my observations to a few leading points. The end for which the first limitations were imposed upon the crown was, to fecure the persons and the property of the fubject. This was a noble object, had it been 11 cm10 12

been pursued upon liberal principles. But the idea of general liberty never entered the minds of the Polish reformers. It was their uniform fystem to unite the extremes of freedom and despotism; to render the distance between nobles and plebeians almost infinite; and, while they secured to the former a perfect freedom from controul, to preclude the latter from every approximation either to political privileges or personal security. A reformation conducted on such principles deserves no praise, since it could be productive of no public benefit.

You may, perhaps, imagine that the reafon for placing fo many branches of the executive government in the hands of the
crown fervants, was, to render those who enjoyed them accountable to the nation for
the mode in which they exercised them.
But these constitutions were founded on no
such liberal principles. On the contrary,
their object was, to render the great officers
of state independent and unaccountable.
And this object was completely accomplished. For, by vesting these branches of the

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LETTERS FROM 352 government for life, those who possessed them were independent of the crown; and afterwards, by means of the Liberum Veto, they were enabled to render themselves independent of the general diet. The great officers of state were thus rendered so many despots, who had every temptation which impunity could give to abuse their power. From this circumstance many inconveniencies arose. It was feldom that the great officers of state could all be brought to concur in the fame views. On the contrary, they were generally divided by hereditary hatred, which nothing could allay; and, as there existed no power to restrain the whole, it frequently happened that the measures which each purfued were calculated for the fole purpose of counteracting those of his adverfaries. Nor did they always wait the flow iffue of intrigue in their competitions. They not unfrequently raifed armies, fought pitched battles, belieged one another's houses, and defolated one another's estates, with all the fury of incenfed favages. The king, in the mean time, could hardly fail to offend cm11

fend one or other of the parties; if he did not offend both. Hence he raised up many enemies to traverse his administration. Nor was this always the worst consequence. The nation at large was commonly disposed to extend the resentment excited by the misseeds of his servants to the king who had appointed them. Hence he lost the public considence; and in a government like that of Poland the loss of public considence is necessarily followed by the dissolution of public order.

The practice of placing the principal of fices of government in the hands of a few great barons independent of the king, has contributed perhaps as much as the *Liberum* Veto itself to introduce irremediable weakness and confusion into the public councils.

The establishment of the general diet, and vesting it with the supreme legislative power, was a measure of great national importance. But the advantages which should have arisen from it were frustrated by several adventitious circumstances. The election of the nuncios must be unanimous;

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LETTERS FROM 354 and as all the nobility have votes in their feveral provinces, it is in the power of any one refractory nobleman to exclude his province from its share in the national reprefentation. Instead of being surprised that this mode of election should now and then prevent the choice of a deputy, we may rather wonder that it does not fometimes prevent the choice of them all. It reflects honour on the temper of the Poles, that fuch effects have not followed fo abfurd a regulation. The time allowed for the fitting of this affembly is much too short. The laws only provide that the general diet shall be affembled once in two years; and the fitting of each diet is by positive statute limited to six weeks. This is by no means adequate to the business which must come before the supreme legislative affembly of a great nation. This regulation was intended to promote the dispatch of business, and to save the members from the expence of a long refidence at the place where the meetings were held. But such considerations are too childish cm10 11

childish to be named in comparison of the pernicious effects which must often arise from hurrying over the public business. Great part even of the short space allotted for the sitting of the diet is consumed in going through the ordinary forms of the affembly, and in squabbling about the election of a marshal: so that very little business can be transacted in the course of any one diet; and that little must be done in a superficial, slovenly manner.

The powers of the general diet appear to be too extensive for a mixed government. This assembly, besides possessing the supreme legislative and judicial authority, declares war, and concludes peace, levies troops, and sends ambassadors, and enters into alliances. The vesting of these branches of executive government in the diet necessarily produces a great degree of languor and debility in the national exertions. When you consider that the diet must be summoned at least six weeks before the time of meeting, and make a reasonable allowance for the ordinary delays

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they have taken infinite pains to fecure themselves against their own sovereigns, long after the power of the crown had ceased to be formidable; and they have allowed the strength of government to languish and decay in the midst of dangers which called for more than ordinary exertion. In this respect their conduct has certainly been injudicious; fince, by leaving the executive government much more under the direction of the crown, they might have preserved unimpaired their national strength, without endangering their privileges. For it feems inconceivable, that a king hedged in on every fide by precise restrictions, watched by the vigilant eye of a nobility jealous of their independence, and unsupported by the fentiment of respect attached to hereditary fovereignty, should be able to fubvert the conflitution, even although his power were much more extensive than that of a king of Poland.

Lastly, although the constitution of the general diet were perfect in every other respect, the power which every provincial

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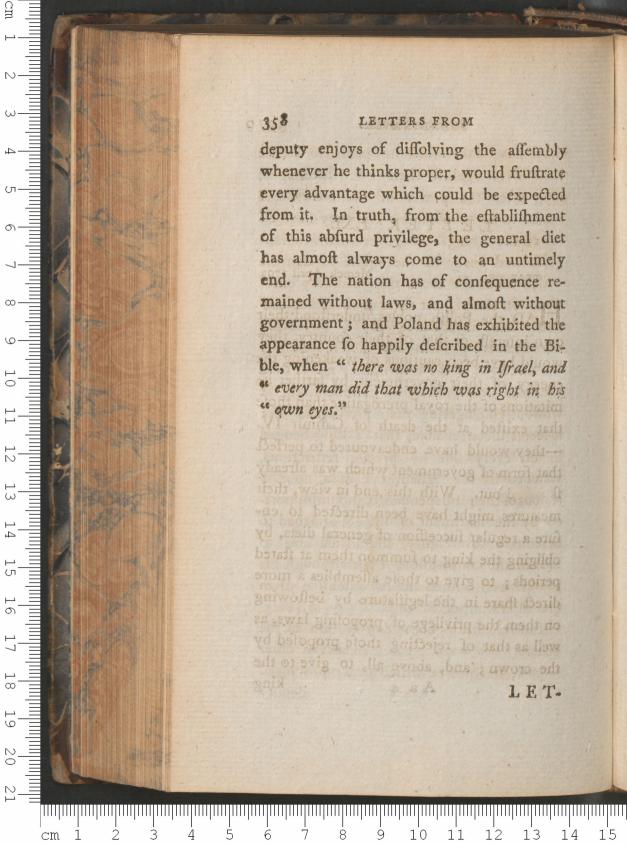
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## LETTER LXI.

whenever he thicks proper, would fruftrate every advantage which could be expedied

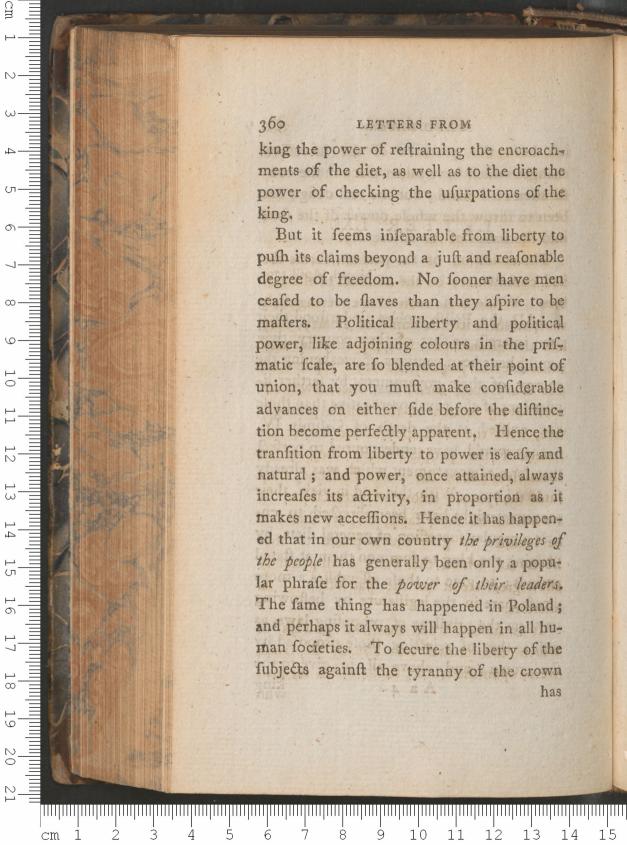
DEAR SIR, Memel, April 1792.

AD the Polish nobles understood their own interest, or that of their country, they would have been cautious of weakening the energy of their government by farther limitations of the royal prerogative than those that existed at the death of Casimir IV. -they would have endeavoured to perfect that form of government which was already sketched out. With this end in view, their measures might have been directed to enfure a regular fuccession of general diets, by obliging the king to fummon them at stated periods; to give to those assemblies a more direct share in the legislature by bestowing on them the privilege of proposing laws, as well as that of rejecting those proposed by the crown; and, above all, to give to the L. Ette

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has been the pretence of the fuccessive changes which have taken place in the constitution of Poland; but the real design has been to throw the whole power of the state into the hands of the aristocracy.

The condition of the peafants forms the best commentary on the conduct of the nobles. While thefe men were covering their usurpations with the name of liberty, they left the peafants to languish in the most miserable and hopeless slavery: while with one hand these men seized successively almost every branch of the king's prerogative, with the other they bound harder the fetters of the people: while they raifed themselves above the control of law, they funk the people below its protection. If we attend to these facts, Sir, we shall not be inclined to give much praise to that liberty of which the Poles boast; nor to allow great credit to the patriotism of its affertors.

It is indeed true, that the powers of which the crown was already deprived, were, upon the whole, those which no man

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exclusion of his elder brothers, produced no alteration in the constitution. Let me give the generofity of the aristocracy in sparing the weakness of this prince its due praise. It is a praise I shall not often have occasion to repeat. All holds are but guilt

I need not inform you, that the diet of election, which met on the demise of John Albert, was a scene of faction, intrigue, animosity, and corruption. You may always take it for granted, that a Polish election is the triumph of felfish views and party violence over public spirit and rational decision. The two oldest sons of Casimir IV. were again excluded, and the national choice fell upon Alexander, another of his fons, whose character and connections were supposed more suitable to the interests of the flate.

This prince loved and encouraged the polite arts. But the liberality with which he rewarded men of genius accorded ill with the parsimonious temper of the aristocracy, which represented it as excessive, and tending to impoverish the state. In conse-

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the superior talents of the king, and the excellence of his administration, procured him the love and veneration of his subjects.

It has been generally faid, that the mildness of his government was favourable to this increasing power of the nobles. But the opinion feems founded on a partial view of his fituation. Men who faw the power of the nobles constantly increasing, and regretted the confusion likely to result from their exorbitant pretenfions, have blamed Sigismond for not performing impossibilities. In fact, the aristocracy was already uncontrollable. They had become fenfible of their power, and only waited for an occasion to seize the whole authority of the state. It reslects no inconsiderable honour on the abilities of Sigismond, that his administration afforded them no pretence for any great innovation. Petty grievances were indeed, as usual, complained of, on the demand of the new fubfidies; and Sigifmond never denied to the wishes of his people what he thought they were entitled to demand, or what he found himfelf in no condition

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vileges of his subjects from the rectitude of his principles; he yielded in some cases to their prejudices from political discernment. He was too enlightened not to see the folly of irritating a body of men whom he could not subdue; and of exciting unreasonable demands, by refusing claims of no material consequence. He knew the impertuous character of his nobles, and he studied to acquire their considence, that he might be enabled to promote the prosperity of his country.

Accordingly, his reign is one of the most fortunate periods of the Polish annals: and, although he was not able permanently to fix the limits of the constitution, nor effectually to check its tendency towards confusion, he at least retarded its progress. He transmitted to his son the crown, which he had worn with distinguished honour for upwards of forty years, unimpaired in its lustre. He was able even to give to the constitution a contrary direction to that in which it had formerly been impelled, by procuring,

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procuring, towards the close of his reign, his fon to be elected his fuccessor. This was the last effort which was made to increase the influence of the crown, and its effects were only transitory.

From the reign of Casimir the Great it had been a favourite object with the nobles to render the crown wholly elective. Several attempts had been made, if not to establish an order of succession, at least to prevent the confusion of an interregnum, by appointing the fuccessor to the crown during the life of the reigning king. Lewis had procured Sigifmond of Brandenburg to be elected his fuccessor; but the diet afterwards fet aside his election. Ladislaus Jaghello also obtained a partial confent to the nomination of his fon to the fuccession: but although the diet afterwards elected him, they showed sufficiently, by their conduct, that the previous form of nomination had no influence on their decision. But Sigismond Augustus succeeded to the throne on the demise of his father,

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This family had governed Poland near two centuries; and, although history affords few examples of a race of princes who better deferved the confidence and esteem of their fubjects, it was their fate to fee the prerogatives of the crown gradually mouldering away, till at last little else than the name of royalty was left them. Befet with a turbulent and ambitious nobility, whose encroachments it required a perpetual effort to relift, they found their influence in the government imperceptibly diminished, and the strength of the crown wasted, till, at the death of Sigismond Augustus, the constitution assumed a new form; and, from being a monarchy limited and controlled by a popular affembly, became a republic, or more properly an aristocracy, with a first magistrate elected for life.

The abilities of the Jaghello family had rendered Poland flourishing at home, and respected abroad. But this appearance of things was soon to be changed. Poland was henceforth doomed to experience all the miseries consequent on popular elections,

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370 LETTERS FROM where there is neither law nor authority to restrain the electors. She was destined to see her internal economy thrown into irreparable confusion, by the interference of all the nations of Europe in her domestic affairs, without either public spirit or national vigour to support her independence; and to feel the imbecility refulting from the dispersion of the powers of government among a multitude of independent nobles, whose views could feldom be united, and directed to a fingle object; because there existed no power to confolidate the discordant mass, and prevent the excesses of party distenfions. And the second of the second of the second While the crown was supported by hereditary influence, there was, on every election, fome candidate to whom the majority of the nation was attached from a respect for the reigning family: there was no pretence for the interference of foreigners, as no foreign state could hope to give a king to a nation which, though it elected its fovereign, confined its choice to fome individual of the family of its ancient kings. 11 cm

In these circumstances, the squabbles of the different factions, though often conducted with great violence, were terminated with the greater facility, as they were not fomented and exasperated by foreign influence and foreign gold. In these circumstances too, the crown necessarily retained considerable authority. Its real power had indeed been long on the decline, and the aristocracy had acquired a decided preponderancy. But still it required a degree of union among the nobles which in Poland was not always easily obtained, to ascertain their superiority.

But all restraint from hereditary influence was now at an end. The nobles were masters of the state, uncontrolled, and unaccountable. And, as there was no candidate whose claims were supported by the respect which naturally follows hereditary dominion, each individual consulted his particular interest, and endeavoured to make the best bargain he could for himself. The same circumstances gave occasion to the interference of foreign powers in the approaching

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cynical observer might be excused for asferting, that, if they have not already been entirely subjected to a foreign yoke, they at least have deserved it.

Let me however do them justice. A party in the state blended respect for the family of their late kings with a concern for their own particular profit; and while, like their fellow-electors, they attached themselves to a candidate who could satisfy their avarice, they resolved to stipulate with him that he should marry the princess Anne, sister of their late monarch.

But while each party supported a different candidate, according as inclination, or interest, or principle dictated, there was one point in which they all agreed. They all determined not to give themselves a master who might let them seel his power. To provide against this danger, the Pasta Conventa, the origin of which I formerly mentioned, were drawn up in a more regular form, and containing a more numerous catalogue of stipulations, than usual. This deed comprehended the whole

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374 LETTERS FROM of the privileges and powers which the nobles had obtained from their kings, from the reign of Lewis to the present time, together with fome new articles which were added for farther fecurity. In order to obtain at all times an opportunity of presenting their grievances, and watching over the conduct of administration, it was provided that the general diet, the holding of which had hitherto depended on the will of the king, should be convened at least once every two years. With the same view, it was refolved that fixteen refident fenators should be named, who should always be ready to affift the king with their advice, in the intervals between the diets. But this institution was not carried into effect during the few months that Henry reigned in Poland. In order that every nobleman might have his claim of sharing the profits arising from the fale of the crown, it was stipulated that every gentleman in the kingdom should have a vote in the diet of election. And in order to imprefs the king with a proper fense of both the duty and dependence of his fituation, it cm 11 13

was enacted, that his infraction of this origihal compact should involve the release of his subjects from all their allegiance, and cancel his right to the throne. This deed the king was to ratify previously to his coronation; and all the clauses contained in it were to be regarded, in all time coming, as fundamental articles of the constitution.

The framing of these stipulations was the first act of legislation exercised by the nobility. Formerly the nobles had only a negative on the legislative prerogative of the crown. On the death of Sigismond Augustus, the legislative power naturally devolved to them, not by any express law, but because they chose to assume it; and because there was no authority in the state to dispute their claim.

In one respect, the diet exercised their newly acquired right of legislation with singular judgment and moderation.

The doctrines of the reformation had already made great progress in Poland.—
The two Sigismonds, although they appear to have entertained no thoughts of separat-

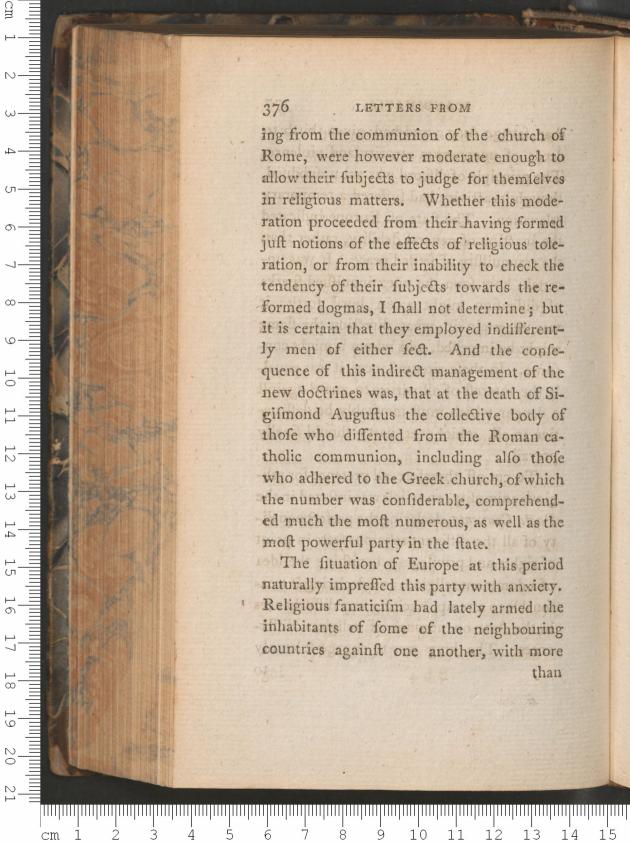
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than favage fury; and had given birth to deeds of uncommon atrocity and violence. The principle of discord was yet unsubdued. though its activity had fuffered a temporary relaxation. The state of Europe indicated the inaction of general debility, rather than the tranquillity of fettled peace. It was uncertain how foon the unextinguished sparks of diffension might again burst forth: it was uncertain in what direction the flame might be impelled, and whom it might confume. In these circumstances, it was equally the interest of all parties to guard against a danger which must inevitably be destructive to all, whichever party should finally prevail.

To cut off, therefore, all pretence for religious animosity, an article was inserted in the Pacta Conventa, declaring the perfect equality of all the different religious sects in point of rights and privileges; banishing the idea of a dominant religion, and declaring it treasonable to attempt exciting any disturbances in the state on account of religious differences. The king was to engage solemnly

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378 LETTERS FROM to keep peace among the distidents in relia gion-a name applied not to one, but equally to all parties, and intended to mark simply the difference of religious opinions, excluding the idea of conformity or non-conformity to a national standard—and to maintain inviolably the equality of privileges among the different fects. This moderation reflects the highest hohour on the diet, when it is contrasted with that phrenfy of fanaticism which at this period too generally difgraced the Christian name, and impelled almost every other nation of Europe to decide their religious controversies by the fanguinary logic of masfacre and extirpation. It is indeed true, that the nature of the Polish government, by giving too ample scope to faction and misrule, has enabled the Roman catholic party completely to frustrate the good effects of those falutary regulations: but it should be remembered to the honour of Poland, that it was the first Christian nation whose religious differences were conducted with temper, and adjusted on the liberal principle cm11 12 13

ple of general toleration, and participation of privilege.

The Duke of Anjou, afterwards Henry III. of France, was the first who received the crown after it was thus abridged of its prerogatives, and rendered wholly elective. Besides purchasing his election by private donations to a great amount; and by the ratification of the Pasta Conventa, he was obliged to promife feveral other advantages The payment of an annual to Poland. fubfidy; the fupport of a body of cadets; the fending of a fleet into the Baltic to cooperate with the Polish armies; and the liquidation of the debts contracted by the late king, were infifted on, and agreed to. The article by which the king obliged himself to marry the princess Anne was, for the prefent, delayed. The perfonal charms of the lady must indeed have been for some time on the decline, as she was now approaching to her grand climacteric; on which account we need not wonder that a young king, though a Frenchman, should not discover any fingular eagerness for the nuptial bliss.

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380 LETTERS FROM Henry had been only a few months in Poland, when the death of Charles IX. opened to him the fuccession to the crown of France. Apprehending that the Poles might obstruct his departure, he quitted the kingdom privately. The nobles confidered his flight as an infult on the state, and declared the throne vacant; thus eftablishing by precedent, as they had already done by law, their right to depose a fovereign whom they confidered unworthy to reign. The interregnum was, as usual, a scene of violence and confusion, of which a double election was the confequence; the emperor Maximilian and Stephen Batori being each proclaimed by their respective parties. The death of Maximilian very foon after his election left Batori without a competitor, and faved Poland from a civil war. danger being removed, the diet proceeded to carry into effect the law which ordained the appointment of fixteen refident senators to affift the king with their advice, or rather to control him in the exercise of the few 11 cm10

few prerogatives which the courtefy of the aristocracy permitted him to enjoy.

The next step of the diet was to deprive the king of the right of judging in the last resort. He had formerly been divested of the right of altering the established forms of proceeding in the courts of justice; but these courts had hitherto continued to derive their authority from him; they were accountable to him; and their decisions liable to be reviewed by him. It was now enacted that each province should, in its provincial assemblies, elect its own judges, whose decision should be final; and that in all capital cases the nobles should be subject only to the jurisdiction of the general diet.

The privileges of a Polish noble were now of high importance. He was his own legislator, and his own judge: he could make kings, and he could strip them of their diadem; and, although he must still be indebted to the sovereign he had given himself, for whatever office he held in the government; yet, when he had

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conduct his administration with tolerable fmoothness and facility.

But wretched was the fituation of that king who once lost the confidence of his nobles. If his abilities fecured him from their contempt, he was fure to be perfecuted by their hatred. He was irretrievably doomed to have his measures thwarted by factions which he could neither oppose with success nor yield to with honour, to have his best intentions misrepresented, his favours repaid by ingratitude, and to maintain a hopeless struggle against misrule and licentiousness, which he was unable to restrain, and durst not punish.

Batori was fortunate enough to obtain the confidence of the nobility; and confequently the inefficiency of the government was but little felt during the course of his reign. The respect inspired by his talents and integrity enabled him to unite the discordant principles of the constitution, and direct the combined force of the state; and as his measures were generally calculated to promote the real interests of his kingdom, ra-

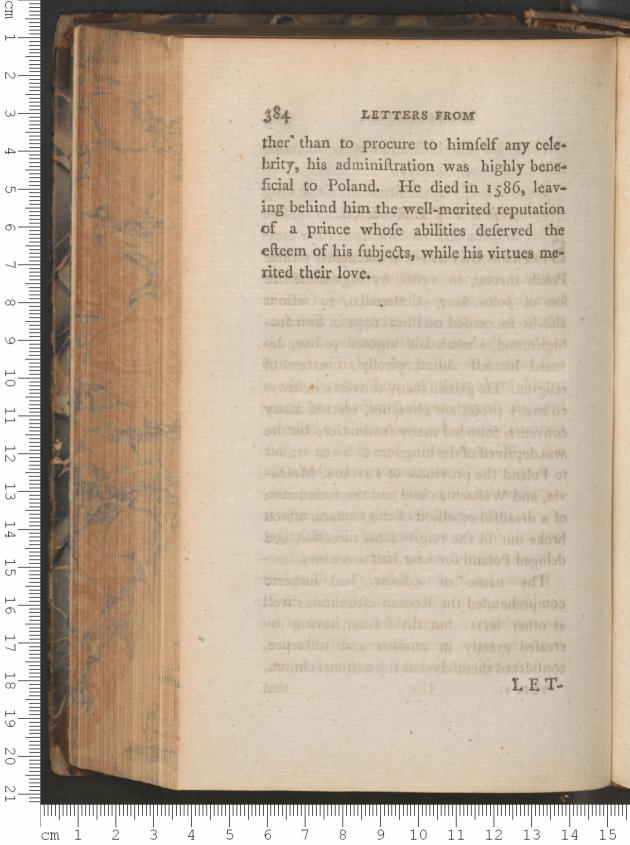
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## LETTER LXII.

Stephen Batori was succeeded on the Polish throne, in 1586, by Sigismond the son of John king of Sweden, to whom also he succeeded on the throne of Sweden. Sigismond, a weak and bigoted prince, devoted himself almost wholly to matters of religion. He gained many converts, destroyed many protestant churches, erected many convents, founded many seminaries; but he was deprived of the kingdom of Sweden; lost to Poland the provinces of Livonia, Moldavia, and Wallachia; and laid the foundation of a dreadful rebellion of the Cossac, which broke out in the reign of his successor, and deluged Poland for near half a century.

The name of distidents had hitherto comprehended the Roman catholics as well as other sects: but the former having increased greatly in number and influence, considered themselves as the national church,

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John Casimir, brother of Uladislaus, and the last prince of the female branch of the house of Jaghello, was chosen king in 1649. In his reign, in 1654, Smolensko was taken by the Russians: and, the next year, Charles Gustavus of Sweden overran the greatest part of Poland, and feized upon Polish Prusfia. The refistance made to this invader by the fingle city of Dantzick gave the Poles time to re-affemble; and their king John Cafimir, who had fled into Siberia, being joined by the Tartars, fell upon the Swedes, who were either dispersed or exterminated. Peace was concluded in 1660 at Oliva; by which however the Poles were obliged to refign their pretentions to Livonia, and to cede Smoleníko, Kiow, and other places, to the Russians. Eight years after this, the Polish nobles became distatisfied with their king: and their king, in return being diffatisfied with the nobles, abdicated the throne, and retired into France, where he died. By the peace of Oliva, it was expressly stipulated, "that all the subjects of " Poland, of whatever condition or christian

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the Austrians, for the defence of Christendom (as the christian countries were then called) against the Turks, whom by a decisive victory he obliged to raise the siege of Vienna.

After the death of Sobieski in 1696, Frederic Augustus, elector of Saxony, was chofen king of Poland in 1698. In 1699, by a peace concluded at Carlowitz, between the confederated Germans and Poles on the one part, and the Turks on the other, the Ottoman court restored to the Poles Podolia and the fortress of Kaminiec. The Poles, on the ratification of the peace of Carlowitz, infifted that the king should fend back his Saxon forces into Germany: but he found means to retain them, by reprefenting the necessity of opposing them to the Swedes in Livonia. Augustus in 1700 entered into a confederacy with the Danes, Russians, and Brandenburghers against Charles XII. king of Sweden; in which war Augustus was defeated by the Swedes in feveral battles. He was deposed from the throne by Charles, who also raised Stanislaus to the throne in

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the different sects of religion; because it was the disputes among these that gave a handle for intrigue, and invited the interference of foreign powers, and may be confidered in fact as the procuring cause of the ruin of the monarchy—a lesson that seems to shew, that states and princes ought either to grant religious toleration in its full extent, and unshackled by restrictions and exclufions of any kind, or absolutely to suppress all public meetings for the purpose of worship, out of the pale of the national church\*. I therefore return a short way on my steps, in regard to time, for the purpose of observing that Augustus II. shewed all the zeal of a new profelyte in proof of the fincerity of his conversion from the protestant to the catholic faith. At a diet affembled in the year 1717, the first law was passed against the public exercise of the protestant religion. The law was drawn up by a bishop, read

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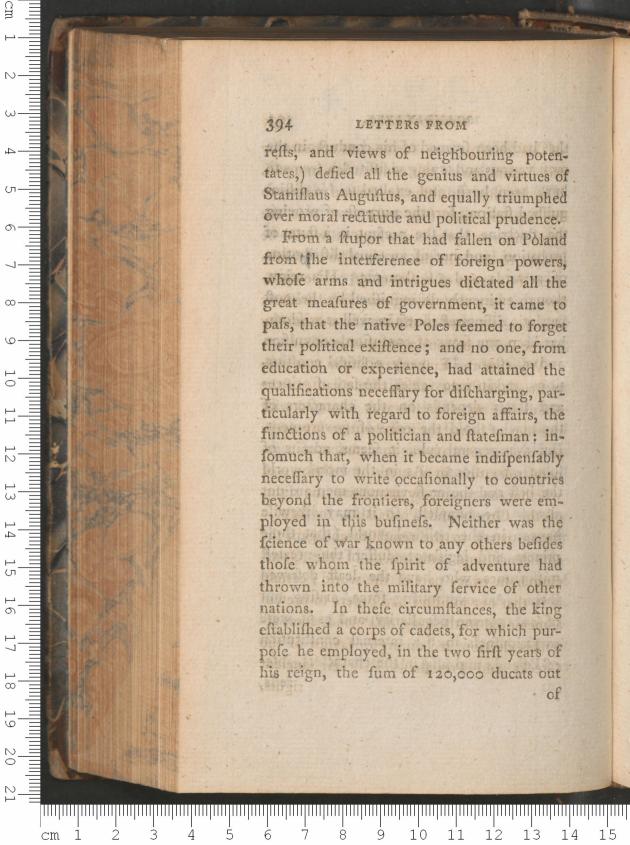
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<sup>\*</sup> Leaving entire not only the right of private judgment in matters of religion, but that also of men and women, united by religious sympathies, convening in private families.

that had been formed of his conduct, in the most various and trying vicissitudes, seems to have been born, and exalted to his distinguished station, for the purpose of proving the doctrine that the present is a state of probation, and not of an equal distribution of rewards and punishments. His reign, though eminently distinguished by the most patriotic difinterestedness as well as wisdom, has been one scene of confusion, convulsion and difaster. In many political constitutions, and in many cases, the fate of princes and states depends on the characters of those who hold the reins of government, But this general rule, it feems, admits of fome exceptions. As in the moral world the best and the most virtuous men are not always the happiest, so it may likewise happen in the political world, (that those princes and legislators fuffer the greatest misfortunes who have the least deserved them. An overbearing force, arising out of an extreme peculiarity and as it were capriciousness in the internal constitution of Poland, and also in the characters, interefts.

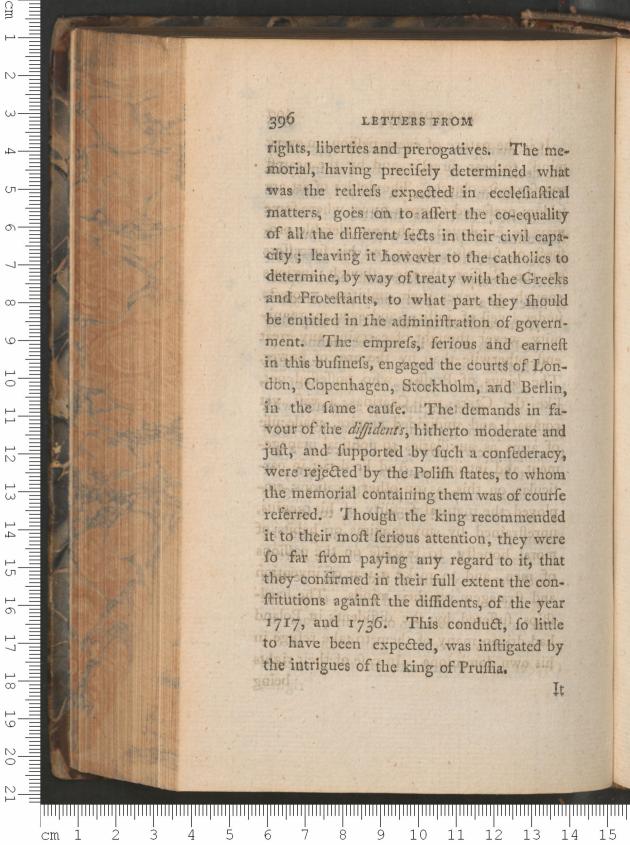
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of his own private fortune, as appears by the declaration of the confliction in 1766. The Prussian minister in Poland wrote to his master, that this institution was the forerunner of projects which it would be proper to crush in the bud. The establishment of a corps of cadets could not be openly stated as a subject of complaint: Frederic therefore resolved to disturb the tranquillity of the Polish nation in another manner.

Whether the Empress of Russia was really struck with the justice of the cause of the diffidents; whether she was animated with the idea of being the first christian sovereign to employ civil power in defence of a general toleration in matters of religion; or whether she meant, by protecting the rights of the Greeks and Protestants, to form a strong party in the republic, and gain the confidence and attachment of the Greek church in every part of the world; certain it is that her minister had orders to present a memorial to the king of Poland, foon after his election, reclaiming in favour of the Greeks and Protestants all their ancient rights,



It is the nature of every passion, in every mind, to bear directly and by the nearest course on its object. The defiles of art are feldom preferred to open force, where force may be employed with any tolerable profpect of fuccess. Peter and his fuccessors on the Russian throne, though anxious enough to cover their ambitious projects under a veil of justice, and even magnanimity, never thought of carrying any great end otherwise than by the arm of power. The kings of Prussia, who possessed not, like the Czars and Czarinas, a vast yet compact and undivided empire, made use of arms as auxiliaries to political management and intrigue. And Frederic, in particular, on this, as on other occasions, employed the natural fertility of his genius, unrestrained by any maxims or habits of moral honesty, to practise on the passions of men, and to make a war of invention and stratagem on their minds. The hardships suffered by the distidents in Poland had driven many of them to take refuge in his own dominions. In case of their rights being

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young man, fiery and precipitate, and accustomed to think, that in Poland as in Russia every thing should yield to the will of his sovereign, worked with so much success on the warmth of his temper as to inspire the design of carrying by force what he might certainly have obtained by manners more gentle and conciliating.

The king of Poland, with the most fenfible part of the nation, endeavoured to avert the impending from. They endeavoured in vain to prevail on the Empress to defift from her enterprise. They reprefented, after this, to the nation, that they must either make up matters with the disfidents, or prepare to exclude the interference of foreign powers, and maintain the independence of their government. The diet chose the latter alternative. demands of the diffidents were rejected; but they promised, at the same time, by every thing folemn and facred, to enable government to support that rejection by sufpending the Liberum Veto, and by paffing a law, that any motion for the augmenta-

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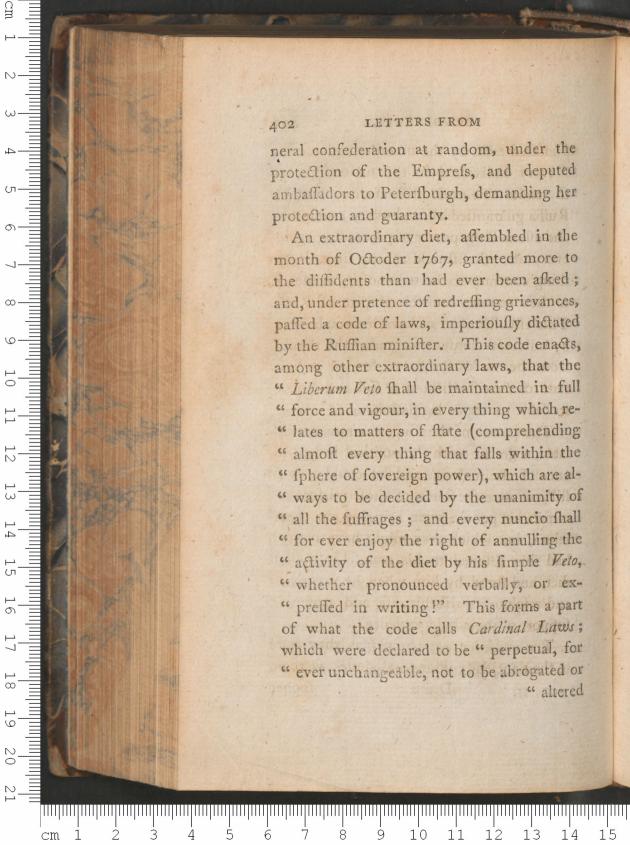
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ed as an attack on the liberties and conftitution of Poland, and the king and his family plainly pointed out as having formed the design of acquiring absolute authority.

In every kingdom there is to be found a number of discontented persons ready to embrace every occasion of change; and this number in Poland had been increafed of late by the patriotic measures taken by Staniflaus for reducing the dangerous power of many of the great officers of state; which had given offence not only to those in possession of places under government, but to all who aspired to them in future. These, with many other discontented and misled citizens, incited and directed by emissaries from Rusfia and Prussia, were able to form a second diet of confederation: and though this class of confederates confided of the very bishops and others who had spoken and acted so warmly against the dissidents, yet such is the force of party rage, that they acknowledged the confederation of the diffidents to be lawful, joined with them in one ge-VOL. II. Dd neral



"altered even by the unanimous confent of every individual in the nation." And, to render this code still more immutable, Russia guarantied all and every article of it, and assumed the power of proceeding against every one who should at any time do any thing contrary to the tenor of it, as enemies to their country and the empire of Russia. This establishment of laws, immutable even by universal confent, degraded the republic from the rank of a state: for no political state can exist without a full and uncontrollable power of legislation.

The power of the king was now annihilated, together with the political independence of the nation; and he could only fit still, a mere spectator of those misfortunes which his people were bringing on themselves, but which they might have averted, had they listened to his counsel in the last diet, and stood by him when he was ready and resolute to risk his life and crown in support of their independence.

The confederates, bigoted as they were to their ancient customs and abuses, were no

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derations, which, without correspondence, harmony, and unity of design and action, were every where beaten by the Russians. The king of Poland, unable to oppose this torrent with his own forces, was obliged to call in the Russian troops to his affistance; but this measure served only to increase the general disgust.

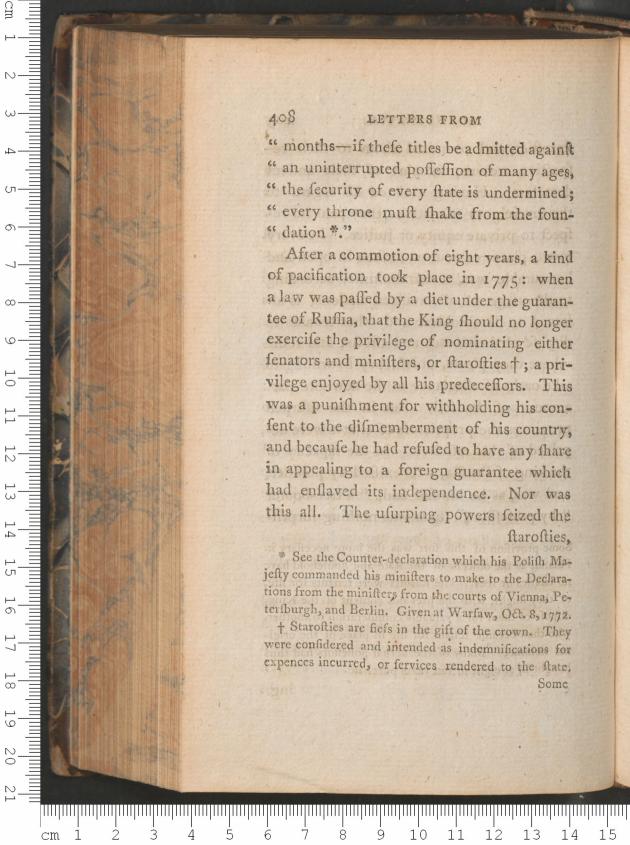
The long continuance of these domestic troubles, the exhausted state of the country, and the presence of foreign troops in almost every part of the kingdom, at length induced the house of Austria, the king of Prussia, and the empress of Russia, notwithstanding the repeated affurances the two last had given the king of Poland of their friendship, and of their having no design either to encroach or to fuffer any encroachment upon his kingdom, to enter into an alliance to divide and difmember it. Against these acts of violence Stanislaus expostulated, and entered protests in vain. In vain he claimed the protection of the powers that were guarantees of the peace of Oliva. The king and the republic were under a necessity of acced-

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the futility and infolence of those arguments by which, fporting with the feelings and the common fense of mankind, he made a show of justifying his claims on Poland. Nor did the claims of Ruffia and Austria rest on any better foundation. But in Germany it is not difficult to find fome learned antiquarian who, from thousands of books and records mouldering into dust, with the aid of a little invention, can drag from oblivion some ancient title, renounced and cancelled by an hundred subsequent acts: nor yet to find some venal journalist who will announce his discovery to the world, as a monument precious to every lover of truth and history. The reasoning of the court of Warfaw, that can plead in defence of its rights an uninterrupted and undifputed possession of four hundred years, is literally unanswerable. "If," says the King of Poland, "titles dug out of the obscurity of "antient times - of those times of sudden and "" momentary revolutions which erected and " deftroyed, ceded and reftored, kingdoms in "the short space of a few years, and even Dd 4 66 months

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flarofties, and re-united them to their respective crowns, as part of their antient demesnes. Having violated all regard to the fovereignty of nations, they paid no refpect to private equity or justice. In every town, place, or country, taken in open and honourable war, a certain time, according to the usage of all civilized nations, is allowed to landholders and other tenants to dispose of their lands and effects, and retire where they please, unless they be willing to take oaths of allegiance to the new lord paramount of the foil. But in the usurped provinces the proprietors of estates were deprived of this refource. In the rapacity of the king of Prussia, who existed by plunder, and was, as he himfelf faid, " a free-booter " by profession," there was nothing furpris-

Some provision of this fort was the more necessary in Poland, as the officers of the state and household have no salaries or fees. The starosts were tenants for life, or they might, with the previous consent of the King, dispose of them for a valuable consideration to another, who then became tenant for life in place of the original nominee. Many of the actual possessors had thus bought in at eight or ten years purchase.

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a very little time after her short period of grace, confiscated more than 20,000l. a year belonging to the family of the Czartoryskis alone. And what aggravates this act of injustice, the two princes who possessed those lands were uncles to the king, of an advanced age, in the enjoyment of the first posts of the state, and had not been apprised of the empress's order for a personal appearance, in time enough to have transported themselves to the place fixed on for taking the oath, if they had been disposed to take it. For a like reason the Empress Queen quickly confiscated all the estates of the Count Ricki.

In the mean time the rage of the confederates continued to increase, and in November 1777, as is universally known, an attempt was made to affassinate the king; from which he escaped by means of some of those unforeseen accidents which are incident to all conspiracies (especially where great numbers, as in the present case, are concerned), improved with great presence of mind, by his majesty.

After

412 LETTERS FROM After all the dismemberments made of Poland, formerly pre-eminent among all the northern nations, a fufficient extent of territory still remained to render it a flourishing and powerful kingdom, if the energy of the people could be roufed and properly directed by a free and equitable constitution of government. Through the abilities and exertions of Stanislaus Augustus a new constitution for that country was submitted to a general diet of the states, on the 3d of May 1791. By this conftitution the catholic faith was to be the established religion of the country, but a toleration was extended to all religious persuasions. The peafants and villagers were relieved from that flavish dependence on their lords which attached them like cattle or game to the foil; perfect and entire perfonal liberty being extended to all people. It was declared, "that all power in civil fociety should be derived from the will of the people; its end and object being the preservation and integrity of the flate, the civil liberty and the good order of fociety, on an equal fcale, and a lasting 10 11 cm12 13

a lasting foundation. That three distinct powers should compose the government of the Polish nation, according to the present constitution, viz. 1. Legislative power in the states assembled: 2. Executive power in the king and council of inspection: 3. Judicial power in jurisdictions existing or to be established."

The constitution, of which this is a very general sketch, at the period of every twenty-five years was to be revised by an extraordinary constitutional diet, which should have authority, by a plurality of voices, to make fuch alterations in it as should be judged to be expedient. At the commencement of this diet the king, in conformity to the will of the states, had figned an act whereby this free diet was changed into what has been called in the English history a convention parliament, and what the Poles called a diet of confederation; and in doing this it had bound itself to decide all questions by a majority of voices. To the decision of this majority the king, previously to his acceptance of the plan of government proposed, conceived himself bound in con**fcience** 

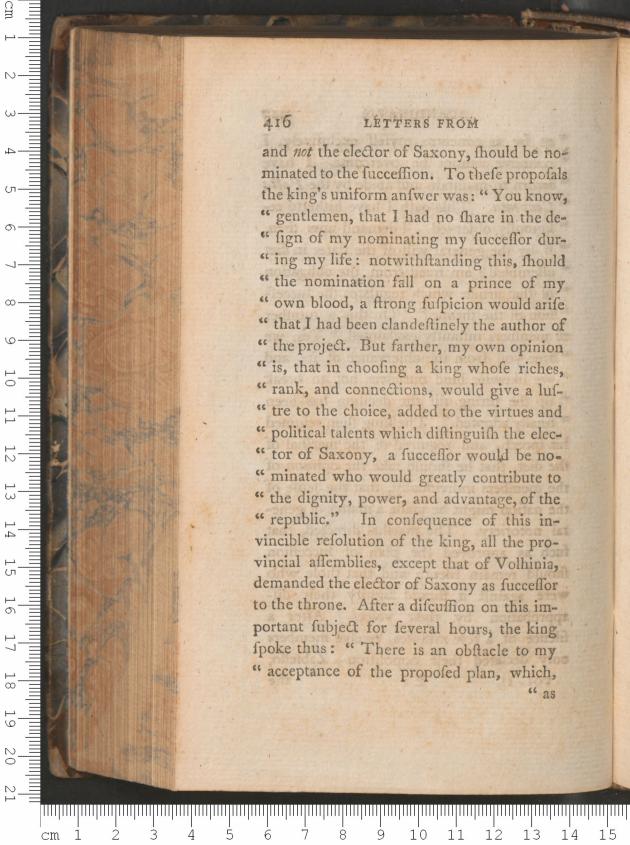
able a decision. In the hall of a diet held 30th August 1790, mention was first made of the fuccession of the elector of Saxony to the throne of Poland. When this project of a fixed fuccession had obtained the confent of the diet, the king expressed himfelf in these words; "It never entered into " my thoughts to bring forward any one " as fuccesfor to the throne during my life-" time, nor will I countenance fuch a pro-" posal unless I find it to be made with the " general concurrence of the nation." On his motion, public notice was given by the diet for convoking the provincial affemblies, in order to afford an opportunity for the citizens to declare their will and resolutions on the fubject of nominating a successor to the throne during the life of the natural prince. No fooner were orders duly iffued for the convocation of fuch affemblies, than many members of the diet, as well as other inhabitants of the provinces, offered their fervices to the king, and concurrence in the mode of fuccession proposed, on the condition that one of his majesty's nephews, and

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as far as concerns myfelf exclusively, I conceive cannot be overcome. I have " fworn to maintain and abide by the Pasta " Conventa. This oath I have hitherto re-"ligiously observed. I demand now then, " if by the general will of the states in diet " affembled I am freed from the obligation " of that article which regulates the fuccef-" fion of the throne?" On this a number of members instantly exclaimed, "Yes, we " free you from the observance of it; and we likewise bind ourselves not to break " up the fitting till the decision has been " finally adopted." The king then refumed his speech, and required of the marshal of the diet, that he should take the opinion of the members individually, that the fense of the nation might be made a matter of general notoriety. The marshal directed, that fuch as approved the plan of fucceffion should remain filent; and that those who were against it should fignify their difapprobation by their voices. After a filence of a few minutes, twelve members only declared their opposition. Zabiello, VOL. II. Ee

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minary to reformation, all things are moved from their centre, and thrown into the completest chaos of confusion. What this is to produce time must determine.

This new conftitution of Poland appears to be the happiest medium that has yet been adopted between monarchy and popular government: to the latter of which, however, it leans more than to the former.

By the Constitutional Act of the 23d of May 1791, the king of Poland is more circumscribed in the exercise of power than either the king of England or the president of the United States, who, without the name, discharges the functions of a king in America.

Here ends the author's correspondence from the continent. The following summary of Polish affairs subsequent to the date of this letter, and which in all probability winds up the history of the Polish nation, is added in this place for the satisfaction of the reader.

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NO fooner was the formation of this new constitution known to the courts of Vienna and Berlin, than they began to concert new plans for the total dismemberment of a kingdom, which, stripped as it was of so many of its provinces, might yet, in the possession of external peace and internal tranquillity, recover its antient independence, exhibit a striking example of the invigorating power of liberty, and diffuse the spirit of freedom among the subjects and flaves of neighbouring and arbitrary princes: Though the court of Berlin, as a preliminary condition to that defensive alliance which it had formed with Poland no later than March 1790, had required that a new form of government should be established, whose flability and duration might be relied on \*,

\* It is difficult to penetrate into the fecret motives of arbitrary princes; and hence it must be allowed, that a great portion of histories, especially of those that aim chiefly at amufing the reader, by pretending to account for every thing they relate, is wholly chimesical. Yet, judging of the court of Berlin by a fair and obvious analogy,

10 cm 11 12 13 the Prussians immediately began, as well as the Russians, to draw powerful armies towards the confines of Poland, and to frown, and threaten the infant government with dissolution, and the kingdom with renewed rapacity and outrage.

After the establishment of the new constitution, it was incumbent on the king to
give it esticacy by the active power of government: for, however excellent moral
and political laws may be in their own nature and abstractedly considered, physical
force is necessary to their due administration. It became necessary to increase the
army, and, of course, to provide both
arms and money. The taxes were already
considerable, and the government was restrained from new impositions, by the danger of overburthening the nation, and con-

analogy, it is not unreasonable to conclude, that, in encouraging the formation of this new constitution, it had it in view, according to their usual policy, to excite the jealousy and resentment of Russia, and thus to prepare the way for a second and a complete partition of Poland.

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more jealous of internal infurrection than of foreign invalion, and more anxious to preferve their own privileges than the independence of the state, opposed and incumbered the plan of their wife and patriotic fovereign. "If," faid they, "we " put arms into the hands of the nation, " we shall experience the same consequen-" ces that have happened in France. As " foon as the multitude shall perceive that "they are in possession of power, so far "from fubmitting to be governed, they " will attempt to give law to the diet, and " throw the whole country into confusion. "In case, indeed, of imminent and actual "danger of foreign invafion, we will then " confent that the whole nation shall be in-"trusted with arms." To this the king replied, "In order to be able to furnish the " country with arms at the hour of danger, "it will be necessary that we have them " ready. But this is not the case; and it is " with difficulty that our manufactures, new-" ly established, afford a supply of one thou-" fand stand a year. Directions should, there-Ee 4 " fore.

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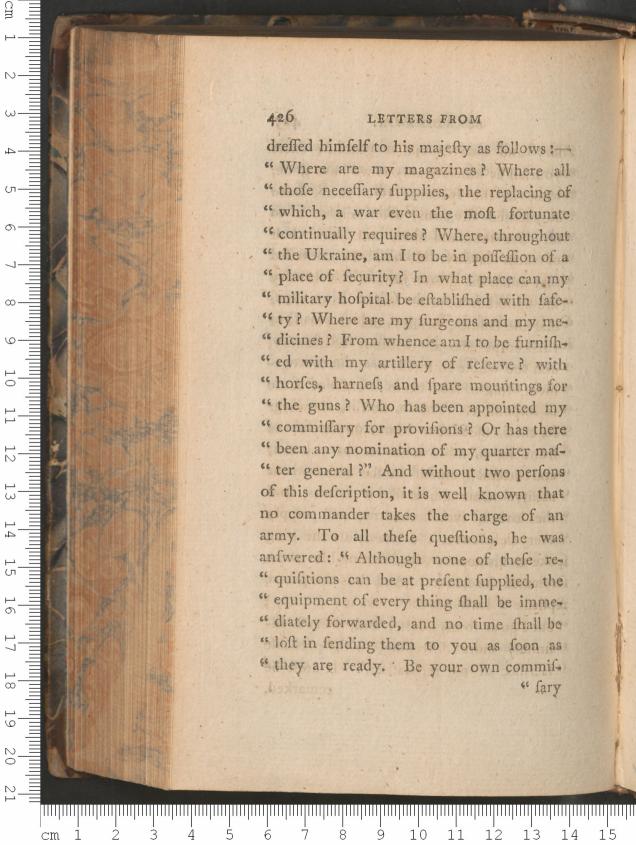
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Almost all these corps marched without tents; nor did they arrive at the general place of rendezvous, till the Ruffians had passed Ostrog in Volhinia, and Vilna and Niezwiez in Lithuania. The commander in chief of the Polish army was the king's nephew, Prince Joseph Poniatowski, who left Warfaw on the 6th of May 1792. On his arrival at Tulczyn, which was then his head quarters, his muster fell short of 2000 men. That place was the centre to which troops were to be affembled from a distance of 50 German, that is, 200 English, miles, at a time when, on the side of Kijow, Balta, and Moldavia, three bodies were marching against him, each of which was equal to the whole of his force. It is to be added, that he had received positive orders to prevent the enemy's cutting off his communication with Warfaw, on which depended fuccessive supplies of provisions, Rores and reinforcements.

the command of the Polish troops, he ad-

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ss fary and quarter master general; exert " yourfelf as indefatigably as we have done, who, in the space of two years, have " augmented the army from eighteen to " fifty-five thousand men, and almost half of them cavalry. It must be confessed "that much the greater part of this cavalry " are ignorant of one fingle manœuvre; " that the faddles, bridles and fire arms of " this corps are all without uniformity, " and the whole fo totally without arrangement, that to form them in order of battle is impossible. This is no time however " for these objections. March directly to the frontiers, assemble what troops you can, and defend yourself to the best of your " ability.—Courage, military talents, and "the love of your country, will supply "every deficiency." It was thus the king spoke to his nephew, in devoting him to the fervice of the nation. And thus the prince replied: " I will go, for I love my country; " but I go as to my death; and, what is in-" finitely more diffreshing, to the probable 66 facrifice of my reputation." It must be remarked,

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Poles, under the command of prince Joseph Poniatowski, as already mentioned, unable to maintain its post at Volonna, retreated towards Zielime, closely followed by the enemy, to whom he was greatly inferior in numbers. At this place, being reinforced by some troops from Zieluce, it halted .--The Russians came up in a body of 10,000 infantry, and 8,000 horfe. A general engagement enfued, which lasted from seven. in the morning till five in the afternoon, at which hour the Ruffians at last gave way, leaving 4,000 dead on the field. The lofs on the fide of the Poles was comparatively inconfiderable, being estimated at no more than 800 infantry, and 300 horse. Nevertheless the Russian forces continued to pour into the kingdom in feveral quarters; and the city of Volonna, and other places of consequence, fell into their hands.

To the superior numbers and discipline of the invaders, Poland had nothing to oppose but the patriotic zeal of the people, and the bravery of the soldiers. The peasants in many places furnished forage without

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tion, or without loud complaint. Malachowf-ki, marshal of the diet; Puchala, regent of the chancery; Potocki, grand master of artillery; Sapieha, grand chancellor of Lithuania, and marshal of the general confederation of that dutchy; Stolicki, and other princes, refused to sign the re-confederation dictated by Russia, and entered protests against it. Upwards of 4000 nobles, and several others, sought after the princes just mentioned, and carried them round in public.

The protest, or manifesto, of Malachowski concludes in this manner: "Forti"fied by the purity of my intentions, I
"submit to the divine justice the destinies
of my country, and the proceedings of
those whose pleasure it has been to do
hurt to the republic.—Oh nation that
I bear in my bosom! oh my dear copatriots! I partake of your missortunes,
but I cannot soften them! Alas! there
only remains for me to offer you tears:
my fidelity and my inviolable attachment are known to you; nothing can diminish

tegrity of what remained of the kingdom, and be in a condition for improving the accidents of time, for recovering real independence, Stanislaus Augustus facrificed his private feelings to the duties of his public function.

The king of Pruffia, who had concerted measures with the court of Petersburgh, alleging an alarm at the progress of democracy in Poland, and, above all, the rife of clubs or affociations deftined to propagate its doctrines, invaded Poland in January 1793. A patriot hero arose, under whose flandard, even when the king was a kind of prisoner in the hands of a confederation of Poles in the interest of Russia, a noble band of his countrymen made head for a time, and displayed all that human courage could perform, against the united powers of the Ruffians and Pruffians. Kofciusko, equal whether in patriotism or military valour to the most renowned heroes of antient or modern times, in his character, fituation and fate bears a near refemblance to the Scottish patriot and hero, William Wallace.-His YOL. II.

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## LETTER LXIII.

Vo yage from Prussia to England.

Baltic Sea, May 1792.

I LEFT the roads of Memel upon Tuefday morning last, with a fair wind, which yet continues. A number of British vesfels pass us for the port from which we had departed. Bornholm appeared upon Thursday. We threw out a fignal for the fishermen, who came and supplied us with fish. This island appears to be fruitful, and is not encumbered with woods. It is, next to Zealand and Funen, the largest of the Danish islands; and from Bornholm the crown draws a confiderable revenue. Beyond Bornholm, the Danes have long fince ceafed to have fovereignty in the Baltic; the whole fhores of which formerly acknowledged their fway. The Swedes revolted from

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people of Amack upon the shore employed in the affairs of husbandry. Zealand has already taken on her summer habit: an universal green covers her bosom. Copenhagen adorns her as diamonds in a head-dress. The gilded turrets are distinguishable at a great distance.

We passed the Danish metropolis, and arrived at Elsineur upon Sunday evening: and the shipmaster having gone ashore and paid the second dues of his cargo, returned, and we continued our course. We entered the Catgate as the night closed around us.

Next day we were becalmed. It is obfervable, that during the month of April, and particularly in May and June, thefe feas are very still. In July the storms frequently begin again for the remainder of the year.

A gentle breeze fprung up on the evening of the day thereafter, which foon carried us to our destined port in Great Britain.

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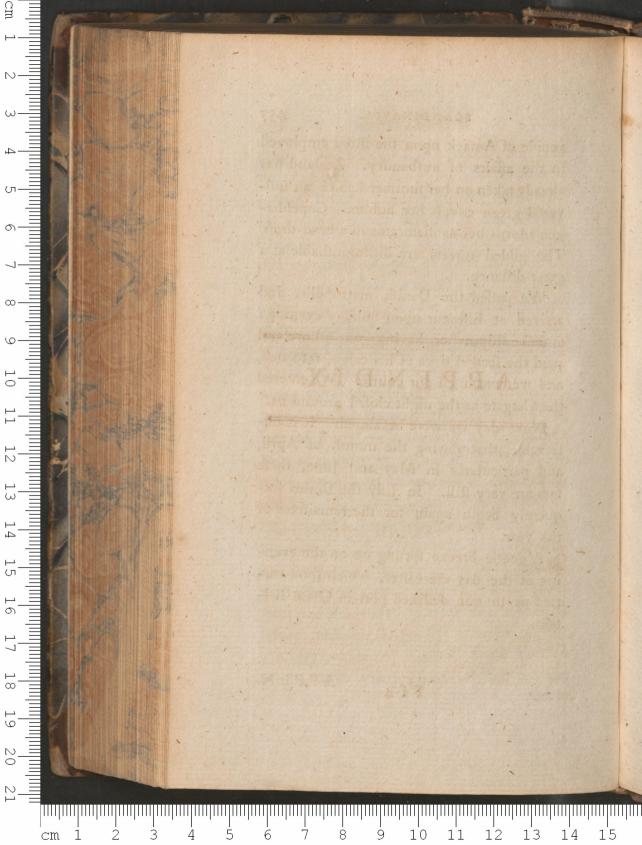
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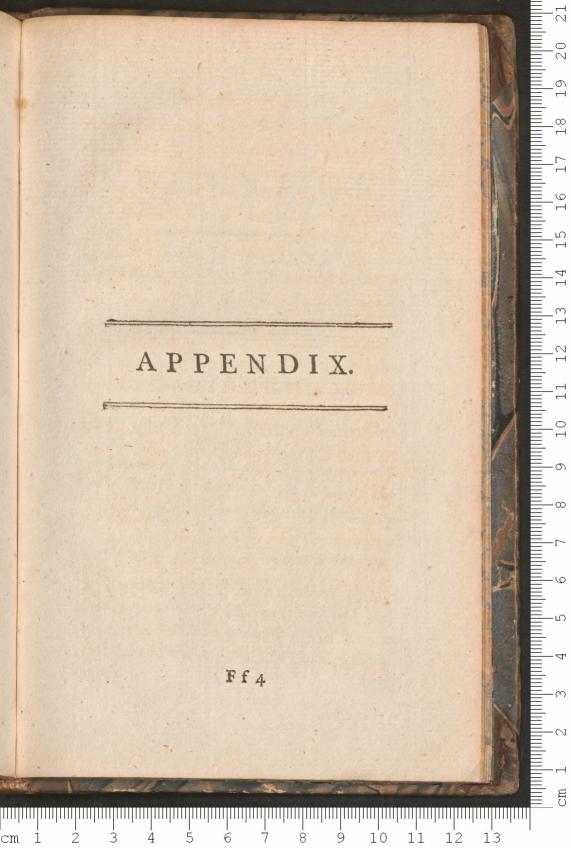
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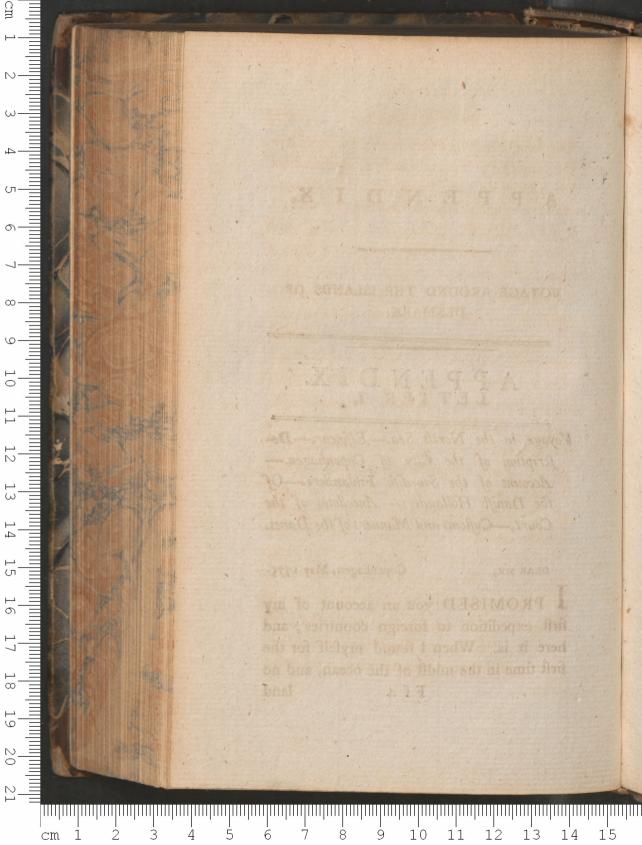
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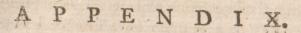
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VOYAGE AROUND THE ISLANDS OF DENMARK.

## LETTER I.

Voyage in the North Sea.—Elsineur.—De-Scription of the City of Copenhagen.— Account of the Swedish Finlanders.—Of the Danish Hollanders.—Anecdotes of the Court.—Customs and Manners of the Danes.

DEAR SIR,

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Copenhagen, May 1775.

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PROMISED you an account of my first expedition to foreign countries; and here it is. When I found myself for the first time in the midst of the ocean, and no land

Their wives and daughters fit with them in the boats, and feem equally skilled with their husbands and their fathers in the management of the oars and rudder.

We steer for the Skaw, a point of land whose light-house is to direct our course. The ships of different nations pass and repass ours. The winds are favourable, and we soon arrive in sight of the Skaw.— From thence we sail up the Catgate to Elsineur in Zealand, one of the Danish islands. From the topmast-head I behold the three kingdoms of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark. We are in sight of the Wingo island, near the coast of Sweden, upon which a tower is built, serving for a mark to seamen.

The Gatgate is reckoned a very dangerous strait; but as we have long days, and fair winds, we are not sensible nor afraid of these dangers. Elsineur, where we arrived next day from our leaving the Skaw, is the first town we touch at in Denmark. Here I accompanied the shipmaster on shore to pay the Sound-duties, a royal toll upon all vessels visiting

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which hangs down to their rumps. The women all appear to have the head-ach; each having a white bandage wrapped round her head. They have many of them a fickly appearance, and others look as if they painted.

I returned to the house of the merchant, and found him at dinner with a crowd of shipmasters.

We failed in the afternoon for Copenhagen. We reached the roads about the fetting of the fun. They were full of merchant ships, and particularly of small Danish vessels. The Danes were playing upon violins, and every ship's deck was used as a ball-room.

Next morning we weighed anchor, and flood-in near to the shore, and to a lime-kiln, for which we had on board a loading of coals. The proprietor of these limeworks is an officer of the Danish army—a Mr. Oberkampts. Several small islands opposite Copenhagen consist entirely of lime rock, which is worked and brought to the kilns of this gentleman.

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the necessary store-houses, and the mallet is heard thundering in every corner of the yards.

Across the canals are constructed wooden draw-bridges. As I went along one of these near the palace, a melancholy accident occurred. Some persons in a small boat were taking their pleasure upon that narrow channel of the Baltic which divides Zealand from Amack, and one part of the city of Copenhagen from the other. A sudden gust of wind overset the boat; and the passengers, among whom was a lady, were instantly plunged headlong into the water. Boats hastened to their assistance, but only succeeded in saving one gentleman: the violent current buried the others beneath the waves.

The royal palace stands in the centre of the city, and near this branch of the sea, which has over it, as well as the canals, a wooden draw-bridge. It is a very large and heavy building: the convenient and elegant stables behind are more admirable structures. His Danish majesty keeps a fine

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448 TETTERS stud of horses: I observed many of them having striped skins, resembling, in some degree, the tiger and zebra. I do not know if this breed is peculiar or not to Denmark. I went to the museum adjoining to the palace. Here are collected together the natural and artificial curiofities of every country, and particularly of Denmark. first chamber contains stuffed birds of every kind of plumage. The inhabitants of the air are removed here as to a tomb, and preferved with as much pains as the ancient kings of Egypt in their pyramids. The gallery of paintings next occupies our attention, and contains many valuable pieces by the first masters. A naked Venus, in a part of this collection, prefents no very delicate object to female visitors. At the farther end of this gallery, we enter into a fuit of rooms, containing each fome particular felection of the works of art or nature. Of the last the minerals of Norway, the gold, the filver, the lead, the copper, and iron, in the ores, afford at once cm 10 11 12

a rare and useful entertainment; and the Danes in shewing them shew not merely the curiosities but the wealth of their country. The ingenuity of the subjects of Denmark too is displayed in the handiwork of Norwegian peasants. A cup of beech-wood, of a small size, and the sides of ordinary thickness, upon being shaken, is found to consist of sive or six cups, all so neatly sitted to each other, as to appear one solid vessel, and this executed with a common knife, which every Norwegian wears at his belt; a custom among all the northern nations.

It would be endless to enumerate the particulars of this museum. Among the busts and paintings of their sovereigns, I cannot overlook the picture of the samous Margaret queen of Denmark, Norway and Sweden; the variety of ancient vessels of gold and silver dug up or sound in different places throughout the kingdom; and the productions of more modern date in the same metals, and in marble and ivory.

vol. II. Gg Such

an infpection as our own cities. Britons would feem to be of the fame original with the Chinese: we endeavour like them to disappoint expectation at first, that we may the more suddenly gratify it. You have no doubt heard of the round tower, to the top of which a coach and six horses may drive, by a circular stair-case, or rather road, within it, there being no steps; and we are told that this expedition with carriages has been executed more than once. I can eafily believe this, and would readily undertake the same journey at any time.

Copenhagen must carry on a great extent of commerce. The canals in every street are filled with shipping; and you see a vessel opposite to almost every house. This mixture of houses and vessels has a strange but a noble appearance. I have beheld a new fort of vessels, and men on board them, whom I had never seen before, or ever heard that their nation produced any mariners. They come from Swedish Finland upon the Bothnian and Finland gulphs. The vessels are large, unwieldy and shape-

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The Finlanders, formerly the subjects of Sweden, now acknowledge the sovereignty of Russia. Their country is dreary and mountainous, producing nothing but small timber; with which however they build a number of vessels for the Swedes, who send master carpenters to Finland to direct the building.

I fee a number of Hollanders upon the streets of Copenhagen, driving a kind of waggons loaded with cheese, butter, milk, greens &c. which they sell to the inhabitants. They inhabit the island of Amack, and are subjects of Denmark. They were transplanted here by a former king of Denmark, for the purpose of giving an example of industry and cleanliness to his people, in the arts of agriculture, gardening, and the rearing and feeding of cows, and management of the dairy. They seem well acquainted with the art of getting money. The prices of their commodities are high, but they are of the best qualities.

The captain of the veffel purchases his butter and cheese from the Danish Holland-

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By Denmark I would not be understood to include Norway, which is independent of Denmark in commerce, and naturally richer, notwithstanding its rocks and mountains.

The king of Denmark, not having many lucrative places to bestow upon his people, covers them with stars and ribbons, and honours them with rank. The nobility and courtiers are loaded with gold-lace and ribbons. Even among the merchants you will find generals and colonels strutting upon 'change with laced hats and clothes. This is court economy, whatever it may prove to individuals; and I wish the sums in the pension-list of England were scratched out, and a harmless title substituted for pounds sterling.

What plain mortals we Britons are!
None but the Dutch excel us in plainness of dress. While all the northern nations, covered with ice and snow, are covered too with the gayest attire, and sparkle in the moon-beams; they have not the sun above three months in the year.

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common vehicle for the middling ranks in travelling. A Danish coach is difficult to be got, and expensive, and differs from the waggon but in name. The genius of dulness and heaviness presides at their building: but the Danes, liberal in gold-leaf upon their spires and windows, are equally profuse of it upon their coaches. The chaise or coach of every Danish gentleman has all the showy weightiness of our state carriages.

It was Sunday afternoon, and the gates of Copenhagen being opened at the end of the fabbath, which concludes early in the afternoon among the Lutherans, I fallied from the walls, accompanied with feveral of my countrymen, and a multitude of Danes. We entered a forest at seven or eight miles distance. Here were erected many tents, under which the Danes regaled themselves. One of these tents was prepared for his majesty, who sometimes attends at this festival, and was hung round with flags and trophies. The natives danced in different parts of the woods to the mulic

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## index compelence in R T T E R II.

Voyage around the Danish Islands.—Mona.—
Fameren.—Alsen.—I.angeland.—Funen.—
Face of Nature throughout these Countries.
—Great Belt.—Faaborg.—Trade of the Danish Islands.—Customs and Manners of the Danes.—Voyage along the Coast of futland.—Account of futland.

Faaborg, in the Island of Funen, May 1775.

DEAR SIR,

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AM fafely arrived at the finest and most fruitful of all the Danish islands. We lest Copenhagen a few days ago. The weather was delightful; the winds favourable.—Having passed the island of Amack, we soon reached that of Mona, between which and Fameren we anchored for the night, and within a stone-throw of either shore.

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flant. The skies are illuminated and warmed with the hot beams of the fun, who has now attained a very high place in heaven, or, if you please, a great altitude. The fandy foil of Denmark certainly adds to this warmth. I am walking the deck in my trowfers and shirt. We are necessitated to wet the decks every night, and likewise the vessel's fides, with water, to prevent them opening in the feams, from the extreme heat; and, for our own prefervation, we have an awning or fail put over the quarterdeck, at a proper height, to permit us to walk and dine under it. It is too hot below the decks to exist there in the daytime. The heat penetrates the veffel in every part.

Zealand, Fameren, and Alsen are covered with verdure: with the glass I view cattle grazing in the parks, and the husbandman turning the glebe. These lands are pleafantly variegated with wood and dale, but I cannot fee any rivers issuing from the country. The farm-houses start up every where; and wherever you fee a rifing-

ground,

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but not less wonderful the effect occasion-

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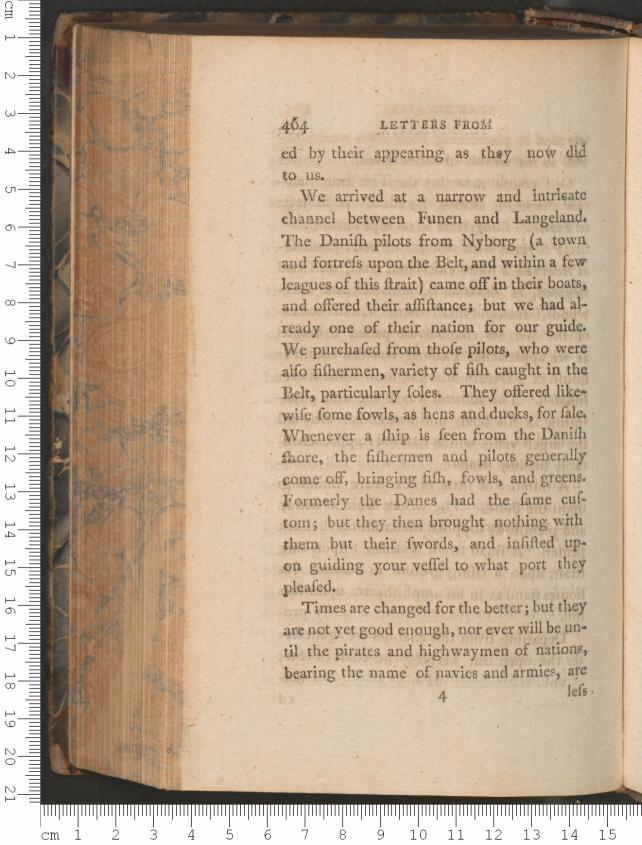
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duce a new island to His Danish Majesty: here a more natural cause produced them;

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less used in plundering their own wealth as well as the wealth of other states.

Our course now lay through long narrow channels, among the islands adjoining to Funen. Langeland is, to appearance, entirely covered with woods. Funen presents at intervals a more cultivated land, and variegated, as Zealand is, with hill and dale, woods, farms, and small towns. On the banks of the narrow channel we passed through as we approached Faaborg was the country house of a Danish admiral, most romanticly situated. The admiral was at the time pleasuring in his boat, and looked earnestly at the largest vessel which had ever approached those shallow straits.

A number of little vessels were building upon the shore. The woods were at hand, and plentifully supplied materials for the carpenter. A small town is situated upon this strait, upon a rising ground in Funen. Its houses stand as in an amphitheatre upon the hill.

Departing from this channel we again enter the open sea, keeping the coast of Fuvol. 11. Hh nen

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I had lately come from school; so, as my first essay in conversing with foreigners, I repeated to the gazing Danes—

Spectas, et tu spectabere.

The person who gives us a loading of the produce of Funen is a decent elderly lady. It is quite common, in the northern countries, to find the women profeffing various trades which in other countries are monopolized by the men. The Norwegian women are found employed in various manufactures, affifting their hufbands in agriculture and navigation, as well as in the counting-house. When the father of a family dies, the widow in person conducts the business, which finds no interruption from an event that frequently occasions ruin to families in other nations; and the females, equally conversant in the profession of their husband or father, carry on the business with as much or increafed fuccefs. This female merchant has fome pretty daughters: they are frank and polite, and, with their mother, shew every

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a few minutes after the meal is finished, and thanks the company for doing him the honour of dining or supping with him, or fimply bows to them: the company instantly rife, and, bowing to the landlord and to each other, depart, or drink coffee, which is ferved, either in the same or in another room, the moment dinner is over. Visitors who mean to stop to supper then walk in the gardens by themselves, or with the family. Tea is ferved between five and fix o'clock, and fupper at eight. Sometimes the coffee is omitted immediately after dinner, and ferved at four o'clock, without or with tea at the fame time. Dinner is always upon the table of the higher ranks, as well as of the lowest, at half past twelve, or at latest at one o'clock. The lower orders of the English still retain the fashion of their Danish ancestors. Luxury has invented other hours and other customs; and as luxury pervades the northern regions, the irrational changes originating in luxury will no doubt likewife take place.

The harbour of Faaborg is filled with Danish shallops loading corn, meal, salted H h 3 and

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## flora for the Copenhagen market. The LETTER III.

of the Danish islands for the great bive, the

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DEAR SIR, North Sea, June 1775: the bell right to our lociety, and

MY last letter was from the islands of Denmark: I am again toffed upon the ocean.

We departed from Faaborg a few days after the date of my last epistle. The inhabitants faluted us with firing guns, which we returned with a blunderbuss and an old musket.

Our course lay along the coast of an island, which, like the other Danish islands, presents a variegated prospect of woods, gentle swellings rather than hills, pastures, farm-houses, windmills, and churches. Surrounding this island, we arrived at the opposite side of Langeland to that we had before passed in our voyage to Faaborg. We stopped in Nyborg roads, where

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which has ferved as a nurfery for the kings and emperors of the North. The Danish, the Swedish, the Russian sovereigns are from this parent flock. Indeed Germany, of which Holstein is a portion, is a fort of hot-bed for raifing kings and queens for all the thrones of Europe. When any race of princes become extinct, or are deposed or beheaded, there is always fome coufingerman to be found to supply their place. Great kingdoms are not fond of having fovereigns from other great kingdoms, and prefer a German prince, whose circumfcribed territories and fmall number of fubjects can never rival or claim pre-eminence over the nation which has adopted their chief.

Jutland is certainly a fine country, and capable from its foil and fituation of great improvements. Its trade is however as yet trifling, owing to the neglect of agriculture, and allowing their lands to remain in pafture for rearing cattle for exportation to foreign countries, and particularly to Holland.

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could to the land, which in part sheltered us from the tempest. Hundreds of ships were feen fcudding before the hurricane up the Catgate. A veffel, whose crew were more daring than ours, attempting to beat to windward of the Skaw, loft her mainmast in our fight. She was obliged to run into the fame shelter with ourfelves, and with difficulty kept her station near us. The tops of three masts appeared, at a few miles distance, of some veffel lately lost in this dangerous navigation. The Catgate is a collection of wrecks of all nations; and here many a brave tar fleeps at the bottom of the deep. The Skaw lights directed us during the night.

The weather became moderate, and the wind changed more favourably to us. We continued our voyage across the North sea, where I began, and where I now conclude, the journal of my first voyage and circumnavigation, not of the world, but of Denmark

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